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**Cover:** The view of "The Vineyard" is reproduced from the top rail of the settee in a set of painted drawing room pieces in the Sheraton style by courtesy of the owners, Mrs. Edward C. Venable and Mrs. Herbert C. de Roth. The work of Baltimore furniture makers John and High Findlay, circa 1805, the set is on exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art. "The Vineyard," on Vineyard Lane, is described in Mr. Marye's article in this issue.

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Richard Walsh, Editor

C. A. Porter Hopkins, Asst. Editor

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## CHARLES J. BONAPARTE AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN MARYLAND

By JANE L. PHELPS

**I**N the early years of the twentieth century, Maryland and particularly the city of Baltimore, witnessed a strong attempt to disenfranchise Negro voters. The movement originated in the state election of 1905, and in subsequent state elections its scope spread beyond merely the Negro to encompass other voters who were deemed "unworthy" to exercise the privilege of suffrage by certain "worthy" citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Prominent in the fight against disenfranchisement was Charles J.

<sup>1</sup> In the state election of 1905, the proposal to amend the state constitution was the Poe Amendment. In 1908, another constitutional amendment dealing with voting rights was proposed, this time it was called the Strauss Amendment. In 1911, a similar amendment was proposed and this was termed the Digges Amendment. In this study only the Poe and Strauss Amendments will be discussed.

Bonaparte whose very social position in Maryland and whose heritage might have made him a leader in the disenfranchisement movement. He, a leading Baltimore lawyer, had been born in that city on June 9, 1851. He was a wealthy man but not ostentatious; by birth a member of the elite of Baltimore and Maryland society, and as a descendant of French royalty, he was held in awe by many people.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be said that he disappointed such persons, for he was intensely interested in his genealogy, an avid collector of Napoleana; but he was an American-born citizen. He never once left the continent for a trip through Europe, and always he was more interested in the United States than in any of the European countries. His successful law practice in Baltimore was mainly devoted to the handling of estate cases and his own personal family affairs. The Bonaparte holdings in real estate in Maryland were extensive and much of his time and attention was directed to the management of these matters. Occasionally, however, he would accept an indigent case, usually when he felt that the poor were being unjustly treated by the law.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of his large legal practice, Bonaparte always found time to indulge his interest in reform causes which had for their aim the improvement of political and social conditions. He was one of the founders of the National Civil Service Reform League; and also belonged to the National Municipal League, of which he was president in 1908. He belonged to the Baltimore Reform

<sup>2</sup> Charles J. Bonaparte was the grandnephew of Napoleon Bonaparte; the grandson of Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome, who married Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore in 1803. Charles Bonaparte's father was Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Camberwell, England, July 7, 1805, after Napoleon had induced Jerome to abandon his young wife, Elizabeth, enticing him by offering him the throne of Westphalia if he would leave her. Their son, Jerome, married Susan May Williams, a Baltimore debutante, and of this marriage two sons were born—Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr., who was born in Baltimore and died at Pride's Crossing, Mass., in 1893; and Charles Joseph Bonaparte, twenty-one years younger than his brother. Charles was educated in Baltimore, attended Harvard College and Law School. He was married at Newport, R. I., in 1875, to Ellen Channing Day and had no children (*vide* Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Charles Joseph Bonaparte: His Life and Public Services* [New York, 1922]).

<sup>3</sup> An example of this was the time Bonaparte undertook to defend a poor woman who was being sued for non-payment of insurance policy funds. He spent many days examining the case, personally appeared in court, and was rewarded by the acquittal of his client (Interview with the Honorable Morris A. Soper, Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Baltimore, Md., October 31, 1958).

League, the Society for the Prevention of Vice, and the Charity Organization Society in Baltimore, was a close friend of Cardinal Gibbons and a trustee of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, to mention but a few of the organizations in which he was interested.

He first achieved national importance when Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to the Board of Indian Affairs in 1902, serving until 1904. In 1903, the President again selected him for a special investigating body, this time to delve into the Post Office scandals in Baltimore and Philadelphia. In 1904, he was the only Republican Presidential Elector from Maryland—an honor, he often said, not due to his personal reputation or to that of the Maryland Republican party, but, quite simply, because his name was placed near to top of the alphabetically arranged voting list. Thus, when in mid-1905, Roosevelt nominated him to the cabinet post of Secretary of the Navy, Charles Bonaparte was comparatively well known outside of Maryland and, while certainly not a national figure, people were familiar with his name and associated him with "do gooder" causes.

That Bonaparte did not assume a position of leadership in the disenfranchisement movement was due not only to his regard for the Negro race and to his belief in the inherent right of the Negro to vote, but, also, to his unerring sense of what was right and just under the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States, in the Fifteenth Amendment granted the privilege of suffrage to Negroes and accordingly, Charles Bonaparte felt obliged to uphold that privilege.

Bonaparte was a skilled jurist. Attorney General of the United States from 1906-1909, he was responsible for the adoption of the novel legal theory of receivership for illegal trusts and was also responsible for the institution of a special investigative force for the Department of Justice, a force which formed the nucleus of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. While he was a practical lawyer, the ordinary events of day-to-day law practice sometimes bored him, but the law was his consuming passion in life. He was an artist of law; he was a lawyer's lawyer. Law for him was like a silken tapestry and any flaw in it, as in the case of a flaw in a work of art, annoyed and distressed him. Law for him was his life and his art. Yet, he was not entirely an idealist, for he well

realized how imperfect human nature could be. He knew that perfection in law, as in life, was the treasure that eluded ordinary men. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights were, to Bonaparte, guideposts to legal concepts insuring the freedom of the individual and not to be tampered with lightly. An amendment such as the Fifteenth which guaranteed the right of suffrage to the Negro was inviolable as long as it remained a part of the Constitution and, thus, he fought with all the passion he could muster to ensure continuance of the privilege. He was not in the truest sense a Negrophil, but he was a lawyer who firmly believed in upholding their due rights and privileges and in doing this he became the champion of the underdog. Perhaps nothing pinpoints the American democratic ideal as this story—the grandnephew of Napoleon, championing the cause of the Negro, but one generation removed from slavery.

At no time did Charles Bonaparte occupy a clear and concise position on the Maryland political scene—a man of independent frame of mind. In fact, at the time of his appointment as Secretary of the Navy, many people in the state were uncertain whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. This confusion was in keeping with the character of the man. Indeed, it is almost possible to conjure up a mental picture of him smiling his lopsided smile and nodding gently to himself when first reports of this dilemma reached him, for he was much more of a "maverick" than a "regular" party man. There had been times when he crossed party lines to fight for a good cause, and there would be times in the future when he would appeal to the independent element in both parties to vote on certain legislation irrespective of party sponsorship—such as in the fight against the Poe Amendment to the Maryland constitution.

His appointment to the cabinet of President Roosevelt in 1905, came as a complete surprise not only to the nation but also to Maryland Republican leaders. Clearly, it was a personal appointment, for as reported at the time: "The news of Mr. Bonaparte's selection has created the greatest astonishment among the Maryland Republican leaders, none of whom was apparently consulted by the President as to whether the appointment of Mr. Bonaparte to a Cabinet position would be agreeable to them. " Mr. Bonaparte

is at outs with the Republican party organization of his State, and if it had been known that there was a chance for the appointment of a Maryland man to such a high office, the organization leaders would unquestionably have suggested somebody else and opposed Mr. Bonaparte had the President indicated a preference for him." <sup>4</sup> Since Bonaparte was at odds with the leaders of his own party, it can hardly be supposed that the Democratic party, with whose leaders he had fought for years over various issues in Maryland, would have proposed him for the appointment. The amazement which struck both parties in Maryland when the appointment was announced was genuine. Roosevelt was rewarding a friend and advisor of many years standing.

Bonaparte on the state political level, if an Independent, leaned more toward the Republican party than toward complete independence. It would have been evident to a person of Bonaparte's pragmatic mind that, while an independent vote was important, it seldom was able to elect candidates or propose legislation. For example, however much influence the third party has exerted on the two major parties, it has been a failure. Soon after the assumption of his cabinet post, Bonaparte began to show signs that he was more Republican than Independent. In fact, his friends and associates expected, since he now was in the inner councils of the Administration, that he would handle the patronage of Maryland. This prospect was frightening to the "regular" party machine Republicans because it was feared that Bonaparte would ignore the recommendations of these politicians. If this happened, they reasoned, it was conceivable that many independents would be appointed instead of regular party men and, if this should come to pass, it could very well lead to the breakdown of the entire state Republican party machine which had been gradually rebuilt since the searing and ignominious defeat by the Democrats in 1904.<sup>5</sup> That these fears were not entirely baseless

<sup>4</sup> *The Sun* (New York), June 2, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> *The Baltimore Sun*, June 1, 1905, stated: "It is said by his friends that his duties as Secretary of the Navy will by no means prevent his keeping an eye on Maryland politics and perhaps taking an even more potent part in these affairs than before. The chief dread of the local Republicans is that by reason of his closeness to the President Mr. Bonaparte will be constituted by him as the referee in all matters of Federal patronage in Maryland and that his will be the final word taken by the President on all appointments within this State."

was proved shortly after Bonaparte took office. Ex-Senator McComas of Maryland was a member of the Republican National Committee. In the summer of 1905, he decided to retire and recommended the name of George A. Pearre, Republican Congressman from Maryland, to Bonaparte as a likely nominee for the vacant position. The stand that Bonaparte was forced to take was touchy since the party conservatives like McComas were the strong men in the party. On the other hand, no one except McComas and, said Bonaparte, "I suppose Mr. Pearre, recommended the appointment very strongly. Cortelyou, Republican National Chairman, himself stated that while I have high regard for Mr. Pearre, I doubt very much the advisability of appointing him to the place."<sup>6</sup> The other members of the governing council of the party, and by far the majority, recommended a man named Williams. Bonaparte himself felt that the latter appointment was the best, but despite his personal feeling he was determined to present both names to the National Committee Chairman. Cortelyou was not insensible to Bonaparte's predicament. It was evident also that the latter's recommendation would have great influence in the final appointment.<sup>7</sup> After the two men had discussed the situation further, it was decided not to antagonize the majority of the party in order to favor a minority, and Williams was appointed to the position.

The affair had served to highlight two facts: first, Bonaparte was very definitely back "in" the Republican ranks and also very much a party chieftain in the councils of the Maryland mighty which decided strategy and appointments. Witness the fact that both sides presented their recommendations to him for transmittal to Cortelyou; and, secondly, that Bonaparte was clearly in charge of the federal patronage in Maryland and perhaps a great deal more. Thus, coincidental with his assumption of his cabinet post, Bonaparte moved to the hierarchy of the Republican party in

<sup>6</sup> Bonaparte to George Cortelyou, July 10, 1905, in Charles J. Bonaparte Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 162, cited hereafter as Bonaparte Papers, LC; and Cortelyou to Bonaparte, July 10, 1905, in Patterson-Bonaparte Papers (Md. Hist. Soc.). Cited hereafter as Patterson-Bonaparte Papers.

<sup>7</sup> Cortelyou to Bonaparte, July 3, 1905, *ibid.*: "I fully agree with you as to the necessity of exercising great care in the selection and shall certainly not make any appointment until I have gone over the whole matter with you. . . ."

Maryland. Within a short time, he was so busy with this involvement that he was forced to forego speaking engagements throughout the country. As he told Roosevelt, "the demands on my time, arising from the political situation in Maryland, will leave me no leisure to properly prepare . . . addresses."<sup>8</sup> Unquestionably, as he wrote this he was considering the fight he must wage against the Poe Amendment, a fight which would occupy whatever time he could spare from his official duties as Secretary of the Navy.

The Negro in the early years of the present century found himself in a position similar to that of a Roman Catholic immigrant to America in the nineteenth century. As the Catholic had been criticized for not being "American" because he believed in a different religion, worshipped his God in a different manner, and, in many cases, spoke a foreign language, so to did the Negro suffer from like handicaps as well as one more—the color of his skin. Bonaparte was a Southerner, bred in the Southern tradition, yet for years he occupied himself with the fight against Negro disfranchisement in his state. Many times he had been called the spokesman for the Negro in America and called this by the Negroes themselves as a token of their esteem for him. He had great respect for the race, he often said, because it was an undeniable fact that the Negro people were the only ones ever able to live with whites, both races increasing and prospering on a large scale. In a speech entitled "The Future of the Negro Race in America"<sup>9</sup> he points out that the American Negro, transported to a strange country by slave drovers, was admirable for learning to live in peace with the whites, neither seeking the destruction or supplanting of the Caucasian nor provoking violence.

Bonaparte was opposed to segregation because he felt that to exclude the Negroes from the white people "whether by law or natural causes, cuts them off at the same time from the only real and certain sense of improvement to themselves."<sup>10</sup> Thus, to segregate the Negro was to condemn him to a life which would remain stationary and outside the fold of American happiness. To integrate them assured that the Negro would contrive to

<sup>8</sup> Bonaparte to Roosevelt, August 25, 1905, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Charles J. Bonaparte, "The Future of the Negro Race in America" (Address delivered in Washington, D. C., in 1906), Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 216.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

assimilate himself into American society while perpetuating his racial existence. Bonaparte thought it was a just and legitimate goal of the Negro to be an American like all others and to be free.

Despite its humanitarian and liberal appeal, Bonaparte was severely criticized for his "Future of the Negro Race in America." Sensibilities were shocked by his well-intentioned but clumsy and unfortunate analogy of the Negro to the brown rat. The brown, ship-borne rat, introduced into all countries, invariably eliminated the native variety with his viciousness and cunning. The Negro had never tried to eliminate the Caucasian. Of this comparison Bonaparte's opponents could make political capital.

Yet he was sincerely interested in the welfare of the Negro, and he fought constantly to ensure him his rights. He had no patience with what he regarded as unintelligent prejudice against the Negro:

It seems that the odious and alarming spectacle of uncle Rastus on July evenings taking the air on his doorstep, while the pickaninnies play contentedly in the gutter, has now become maddening to the noble Caucasian hoodlum; that to keep the peace and preserve the public order, we must imitate Russia and revive customs of mediaeval [*sic*] Europe by setting up, not one Ghetto, but many of them, so as to isolate the homes of a class of people, who nevertheless live in our houses, cook our food and care for our children without anybody's suffering any injury or anybody's seeing anything wrong.<sup>11</sup>

Just as he fought constantly against the belief that if a man immigrated to the United States from a foreign country he always remained a "German-American" or "French-American" even though he became a citizen of his adopted homeland, so too did Bonaparte fight for the rights of Negroes. He felt that there could be no such thing as a Negro-American, as there could not exist a Chinese-American. A man was either one thing or the other. "We have a country," he said, "and that means only one country. . . . America has ever gladly welcomed . . . to her shores those who would cast her lot in with her children."<sup>12</sup> To those

<sup>11</sup> "Charles J. Bonaparte, "More Enlightenment and Less Prejudice," *ibid.* This also appeared as an article in the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore) on February 16, 1911.

<sup>12</sup> Charles J. Bonaparte, "Only One Real Country," (from the response to the toast "Our Country" at the Archbishop Ryan Dinner, in Philadelphia, on April 23, 1908), Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 216.

men who elected to cast their lot with America went citizenship and, thus, they became Americans not in name but in truth—"not half or three fourths or ninety-nine one-hundredths Americans but Americans altogether; not Americans first and some kind of foreigners [or Negroes] afterwards, but Americans first, last, and all the time, and nothing else at all . . ." <sup>13</sup>



Caricature of Bonaparte during the Poe Amendment battle, probably by McKee Barclay, from *Baltimore News*, Oct. 7, 1905. James O. Adams, a Gormanite, was delegate of Wicomico County.

And so, with these sentiments in his heart, he set out to prove to the people of Maryland that if they adopted the Poe Amendment they would destroy a part of their American heritage. Actually, what became known as the Poe Amendment was "An Act to Amend Section I of Article I of the Constitution of This State [Maryland] and to Provide for the Submission of said

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Amendment to the Qualified Voters of this State for Adoption or Rejection." The introduction to the act simply reaffirmed what Section I already said, to wit: all elections would be by ballot; every male over the age of twenty-one who met the residence requirements, and who also met the voter qualifications as stated in Article I of the state constitution, would be entitled to vote. One important phrase, whose significance was overlooked by the proponents of the amendment until Bonaparte pointed it out, and which will be discussed later, was: ". . . to entitle a person to vote . . . he must have been a resident of that part of the County or City [Baltimore] which shall form a part of the electoral district in which he offers to vote for six months next preceding the election, but a person who shall have acquired a residence in such County or City, entitling him to vote at any such election, shall be entitled to vote in the election district from which he removed until he shall have acquired a residence in the part of the City or County to which he has removed." The foregoing continued that *a male citizen of the United States* who met these requirements could become a registered voter in the state of Maryland provided he could pass a reading test on the Constitution of the United States given by the officers of registration and give a reasonable explanation on the section given him to read, or, "if unable to read such section is able to understand and give explanation thereof when read to him by the registration officer." Illiteracy in Maryland was no bar to becoming a registered voter providing a man was the proper color! The second provision of the proposed amendment, a most important section especially when taken in conjunction with the important aspects of the general introduction, as have already been noted stated: "A person who on the first day of January 1869, or prior thereto, was entitled to vote under the laws of this State or of any other State . . . [or] Any male lineal descendant of such last mentioned person who may be twenty-one (21) or over in the year 1906" would be entitled to vote in Maryland.<sup>14</sup>

This measure, known as the Poe Amendment, would have dis-

<sup>14</sup> Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 195.

qualified thousands of Negro voters in Maryland—that was its avowed purpose as stated in a pamphlet entitled “Question of Patriotism: Why All *White* Men, Native and Naturalized, Should Vote For The [Poe] Amendment.” This pamphlet admitted that “the only way to disenfranchise the Negro is by circumventing the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and that . . . necessitates the proposed indirect means. The object of the Fifteenth Amendment in the first place was to jam Negro suffrage down our throats.”<sup>15</sup> However, astonishingly, the authors of the Amendment in their language actually opened the doors of the state of Maryland to Negroes from other states, not qualified to vote in their present places of residence, who wanted to vote. As J. P. Hill, a Baltimore lawyer and close friend of Bonaparte pointed out, the so-called “grandfather clause” of the amendment, which stated that “a person who on the first day of January 1869, or prior thereto, was entitled to vote under the laws of this State or of any other State” or descendants of these early voters, who now wished to vote, could do so in Maryland. Thus, those Negroes who had voted prior to 1869, or whose ancestors had exercised that privilege, could come to Maryland from the “cotton states” (Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, and Georgia) and could vote in Maryland. It was well known that these states, as well as Maryland itself, had permitted certain freemen, albeit Negroes, to vote in the early part of the nineteenth century, and now the proposers of the Poe Amendment, who sought to prevent the Negro from exercising his prerogative of suffrage, had reopened the very doors they sought to close! In fact, if the Poe Amendment was adopted, the state would be made politically attractive to many out-of-state Negroes.

To Bonaparte, actively leading the fight against the amendment, the fight was far more than a party fight of Republicans opposing Democrats. It was a struggle to save the constitutional rights of a group of people who could not protect themselves. This posture of Bonaparte might be construed as somewhat anomalous: a

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

gentleman of Maryland defending the rights of the Negro. He knew that under his guidance the Republicans would fight against the proposal for he had assumed firm leadership in that party in the first days after assumption of his cabinet post, but—and this provides an unusual picture of the man—he was unhappy at the possibility that the Democrats might endorse the amendment at their state convention. This, more than anything else, shows the true independent position of Charles Bonaparte. He was not merely trumping up issues on which to differ from the opposition. He was genuinely concerned with the problem of Negro voting privileges, and any kind of a threat against these hard-won rights. Perhaps, instead of stating that this shows the true independent spirit of the man, it would be better to say that this demonstrates his liberal concern over the fate of the United States Constitution. Hence, in this case, Bonaparte is truly lamenting the fact that the Democratic Party, the opposition, might endorse the amendment, the fight against which was the keystone of the Republican state platform. Had he been acting from mere partisan motives, he might have been glad for the Democrats to take the illiberal, and hence vulnerable, side. Surely, this shows a transcending of party lines in the true humanitarian interest. He could even bring himself to write hopefully that “there is, however, a very widespread movement among Democratic voters in the city [Baltimore] and in some of the counties, in opposition to the amendment.”<sup>16</sup>

The aim of the Republicans was to persuade such dissident Democratic voters, as well as the Independents, to vote the G.O.P. ticket. To effect this, Bonaparte had to make sure the Republican party did not split into factions, as so frequently had happened in past elections. He wrote to William S. Bryan, State Attorney General and a leader of the Republican party in Maryland, that “the Republican organization is . . . in much better shape than I feared it was going to be. I have headed off a number of factional squabbles, and it seems to be in very good condition for work,” but, he continued, “the real danger is undoubtedly the opportunities for fraud afforded by the so-called ‘Wilson Bill’

<sup>16</sup> Bonaparte to William F. Stone, August 11, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 174. William F. Stone was the Collector of Customs in the port of Baltimore, Maryland.

to unscrupulous supervisors of elections,<sup>17</sup> and I have reason to think that more reliance is placed on this resource than on any other by those who desire to secure adoption of the [Poe] amendment."<sup>18</sup> He also showed concern over the report that the Prohibitionist party might endorse the amendment. If this should happen, he feared that a great many otherwise impartial voters would be swayed to vote for the Poe Amendment. Such an endorsement, if actually made, would then turn the entire force of the Prohibitionists and independent Democrats against the Republicans, thus ensuring prompt adoption of the amendment.<sup>19</sup>

As for the Negroes themselves, how did they feel about the Poe Amendment? One proposed what later became the Miller Plan, which required Negroes to hold meetings at which they would pass "self-denying ordinances." These ordinances would ask the Republican party not to appoint Negroes to office while prejudice still existed against the colored people. Bonaparte feared, and with just cause, that if his party did this, the Democratic party would accuse their rivals of prejudice, transparently veiled in exclusion ordinances. The Negroes in 1905 usually voted with the Democrats—not because they wanted to in many instances, but frequently because of pressures and threats. In 1905, Bonaparte felt that more and more of them were trying to break away from this political stranglehold, and he feared that the adoption of the Miller Plan would only force them back to the Democrats. As he wrote to William B. Miller, "All of them [members of a meeting held at his office to discuss the Plan] . . . agreed that, if the party placed itself on record on this issue, it must be so squarely to the contrary effect of what you advise, and all were in like accord in holding that it was unnecessary,

<sup>17</sup> A bill passed in 1903 which, it was asserted, permitted fraudulent elections through careless handling of the ballots.

<sup>18</sup> Bonaparte to William S. Bryan, August 11, 1905, *ibid.* Bonaparte was an old foe of fraudulent election supervisors; in 1904, he himself stood guard at an election post to see that the supervisor there performed his duty impartially.

<sup>19</sup> Bonaparte to W. C. Atwood, August 18, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 162: "I have every reason to believe that many Democrats are at present uncertain how they will vote on the Amendment; their strong prejudices against negroes and Republicans and their habit of always voting the 'straight ticket' weighing about equally in the balance as against the promptings of their reason and conscience on this question. If the Amendment shall receive the endorsement of a body apparently impartial and made up of men individually estimable and respected, this may turn the scale in the case of a good many, who will have an excuse to give their own sense of right for blindly following the dictates of prejudice and party spirit. . . ."

inexpedient and improper for the platform to contain any utterance on the subject."<sup>20</sup>

Bonaparte regarded the Poe Amendment as the only true issue of the campaign in Maryland. He did not fear that it would be accepted provided the question could be decided by a fair vote. "Nevertheless," he wrote, "I consider the situation decidedly critical, and one demanding the earnest and hearty co-operation of all those interested in the perpetuation of free institutions in Maryland to defeat the present conspiracy against them."<sup>21</sup> All his time and resources were thrown into the fight. He organized citizen's protest meetings. Determined not to make the issue a mere party fight, Bonaparte also solicited the votes of the Independents and some disgruntled Democrats. He decided that it would be well to have the first protest meeting called not by the Republicans but by the Independents, for this would serve to prove to the voting populace that it was not a mere party-against-party struggle but one which appealed to the consciences of all voters regardless of party affiliation. His strategem also included having Democrats of known party standing make as many speeches as possible against the amendment in order to influence the uncommitted voters.<sup>22</sup> The Democrats, for their part, went outside of the state to enlist help in favor of the discriminatory proposal. They called on Governor Vardaman of Mississippi to make speeches throughout the state on the horrors of atrocities committed by Negroes, a frank appeal to racial prejudice and bound to attract some voters, inasmuch as Maryland was a border state and, for its people, the Civil War was all too fresh a memory.<sup>23</sup> Such a policy on the part of the Democratic party was nothing new in the political campaigns in Maryland. As Bonaparte said in a press release:

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<sup>20</sup> Bonaparte to William B. Miller, August 17, 1905, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Bonaparte to Congressman George A. Pearre, September 22, 1905, *ibid.* Congressman Pearre was a Representative from Cumberland, Maryland.

<sup>22</sup> Bonaparte to Charles Morris Howard, September 29, 1905, *ibid.* The first meeting was held in a small hall in Baltimore and run entirely by Independents and Democrats.

<sup>23</sup> Bonaparte to Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, September 29, 1905, *ibid.*; also Bonaparte to John B. Hanna, September 29, 1905, *ibid.* Steiner was the Head Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. John B. Hanna was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in Maryland. The vote for the amendment could be expected to be concentrated in the southern counties and the eastern shore sections of Maryland. Baltimore and points north could reasonably be expected to vote against it.

In the campaign now in progress in Maryland, the Democratic "ring" relies for success, as it has relied for success in many campaigns during the past thirty-five years, upon appeals to racial prejudice. To inflame this prejudice, it has frequently circulated and it circulates now many utterly false and indeed ridiculous stories as to what the Republican party would or might do, if entrusted with power by the voters. While these falsehoods are not only absurd in themselves, but conclusively refuted by experience during the four years of Republican supremacy in the State, while the late Lloyd Lowndes was Governor from 1896 to 1900, they have undoubted weight with a certain class of voters, of whom some are very ignorant and others are intensely prejudiced on this question as to be almost beyond the influence of reason.<sup>24</sup>

Bonaparte still believed, however, that it would be the internecine warfare between the Democrats which would cause the defeat of the Democratic-induced Poe Amendment. He constantly advised Republicans to take a back seat in this intra-party dispute and, by and large, they did so.

Thoroughly grounded in constitutional law and believing wholeheartedly in its application he said:

The Constitution of 1867 [Maryland] restricted the suffrage to white male citizens. The word "white" has been omitted, however, in all printed copies of the Constitution since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Colored men in Maryland began to vote, therefore, as a result of the adoption of that Constitutional Amendment, but in some seven or eight of the Southern States . . . they had already obtained that right of suffrage under the Constitutions established there by the reconstructed state government . . . there is one matter which has been overlooked in this connection and that is that colored men voted in Maryland, under certain conditions, in the early part of the last century. They were disfranchised by an Amendment to the [Maryland] Constitution adopted, if I am not mistaken, in 1808. . . . Of course, it is not the intention of the Amendment to confer right of suffrage, without examination, upon their descendants, but it may be worthwhile . . . to point out the possibility that this may be effected. There is no doubt of one fact, and that is if we could believe that the

<sup>24</sup> Bonaparte to the Washington News Syndicate, September 30, 1905, *ibid.* The Washington News Syndicate was a group of correspondents representing Negro newspapers. He continued: "Some of the preposterous tales are to the effect that a Republican legislature would compel by law certain forms of social intercourse between the two races, as, for example, by establishing compulsory attendance at mixed public schools or obliging white children to be taught by a colored teacher. Others hold out the alarming prospect that a Republican governor or Mayor would appoint a vast multitude of colored officials with no regard to fitness or expediency to all sorts of public positions. . . ."

Amendment would be enforced in good faith, it would have precisely the opposite effect to that which is claimed for it by its supporters. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Bonaparte was quick to seize upon the fallacy of the amendment and to use it as an *ad hominem* argument. He turned the anti-Negro bias against itself by, in effect, saying to those who would vote for the Poe Amendment, "The passage of the amendment would be bad for our state on two counts: it would disfranchise some Negroes—and that is unjust to them; and it would enfranchise other Negro citizens—and that is distasteful to you!"

Many Democratic candidates had come out openly against the amendment and just as many civic organizations who normally voted the Republican ticket now wanted to endorse these renegade Democratic hopefuls. The danger was that by these inter- and intra-party endorsements the Democratic party as a whole would receive a plurality of votes in the election. To guard against this, Bonaparte warned the Republican party not to endorse the renegade Democrats, even though Republican sympathies might lie with them. "I think it is of great importance that the Reform League, of which Bonaparte was a leading light, and the independent Democrats should not be put in the attitude of endorsing the Democratic candidates." He suggested that any meeting of these Democrats be addressed not by the Reform League members nor by Republicans but by other members of the Democratic party who felt "correctly" about the Poe Amendment.<sup>26</sup>

The attention he was devoting to the campaign in Maryland began to take its physical toll. Toward the end of October he was complaining of a cold, and his throat was sore from his many speeches.<sup>27</sup> Work at the Navy Department was also suffering. He had spent many days speaking in Baltimore and in other cities of the state. In many instances, letters written by Bonaparte spoke of his intention to come to Washington only on cabinet days. More and more, during the last days of the campaign he asked his Navy Department confidential secretary, Henry C. Gauss, to send anything of importance to his office in Baltimore so that he would not have to appear in Washington. Truly, he was giving

<sup>25</sup> Bonaparte to Finley C. Hendrickson, October 27, 1905, *ibid.*, Box 175.

<sup>26</sup> Bonaparte to Charles Morris Howard, October 27, 1905, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Bonaparte to John B. Hanna, November 1, 1905, *ibid.*

the campaign against the Poe Amendment almost his undivided attention.

Perhaps had he failed in his fight against the amendment, harmful though that may have been to the Negro voters of the state, its effect would have been beneficial in that Bonaparte might have been thrown more onto the national scene. The failure in Maryland would have forced his attention to national politics as he sought solace for his defeat in his state. However, this was not to happen, because the amendment was defeated. Bonaparte emerged more strongly than ever as kingpin in Maryland politics and was already girding himself for the next state election. Theodore Roosevelt was proud of the victory of the Republicans in Maryland, and he wrote to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Bonaparte has led the Republicans to an important victory in Maryland."<sup>28</sup> Unquestionably, Roosevelt was so pleased because the victory in Maryland marked the complete revitalization of the Republican party in that state. This would mean added votes for the continuance of the Administration's policies in 1908. Thus, he felt he owed a great deal to Bonaparte. The Honorable Morris A. Soper of Baltimore is of the opinion that Bonaparte was not a "party leader" or "boss" in the usual sense of those terms.<sup>29</sup> If this is the case, Bonaparte cannot be said to have led the Maryland Republican party to its revitalization in 1905. However this may be, it cannot be denied that he placed in sharp focus the broad issues and was prominent in achieving the intellectual revamping of the party, even though he was not a "politician" in the truest sense of the word.

Although it went down to defeat at the polls in 1905, the constitutional amendment did not remain dead. In 1908, the Strauss Amendment was proposed and its function would have been much the same as that of the defeated Poe Amendment. The Strauss Amendment would come before the voters in the 1909 state election and once again Bonaparte led the fight against it. If anything, he was more concerned about the issue than he had been in 1905. He felt that the proposed amendment was not only a threat to Negro suffrage but it also had been devised "by astute

<sup>28</sup> Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, November 8, 1905, in Theodore Roosevelt Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 151; also George Cortelyou to Bonaparte in Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 122.

<sup>29</sup> Author's interview with Honorable Morris A. Soper, October 31, 1958.

and unscrupulous men to perpetuate their own control of the Democratic party, and the control of the State, nominally by that party, but really by themselves."<sup>30</sup> He warned that these men had gained control of their party and were threatening to control the entire state by frauds at the polls and by defective election laws. He predicted that the amendment and the nefarious plan behind it could be defeated only by the hearty cooperation of all Maryland Republicans and those Democrats who would rise above party prejudice to vote the Republican ticket.<sup>31</sup> The appeal of the amendment to racial prejudice certainly angered Bonaparte. In addition to this, however, the thought inherent in its provisions that the right to vote was a hereditary privilege and not a democratic one revolted him. He felt that any proposal such as this was unrepresentative and undemocratic. He felt that its adoption would make Maryland a one-party state and destroy the Independent vote entirely. The Democratic party would then control Maryland politics. "It would have been as odious to the author of the Declaration of Independence as to the liberator of the slave," he stressed, "and we may hope that the true disciples [*sic*] of Jefferson will be found side by side with the disciples [*sic*] of Lincoln in repudiating a measure condemned by the doctrine of both."<sup>32</sup>

Using every means at his disposal in order to secure defeat of the Strauss Amendment, Bonaparte wrote to President-elect William Howard Taft late in 1908. He was disturbed, he told Taft, by one of the latter's campaign speeches which had been quoted in a Maryland newspaper and which led voters to believe that Taft favored disenfranchisement of Negroes. Bonaparte realized quite well from his own experience that newspapers did not always quote well-known personages accurately, but, he told Taft, although he did not know whether the latter was disposed to write a letter stating his views against the amendment, it was "undoubtedly a most unjust [amendment], a plain evasion of the Federal Constitution, and destined, if adopted to make Maryland a one-party state."<sup>33</sup> He knew that Taft, as a former judge,

<sup>30</sup> Bonaparte to William F. Stone, December 15, 1908, *ibid.*, Box 185.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Bonaparte to William Howard Taft, December 15, 1908, *ibid.*

would pause to inspect the amendment carefully because of the allegation that it violated the Constitution. Taft immediately wrote to William F. Stone, who was handling the fight against the amendment while Bonaparte remained in the background, stating that the newspapers had misquoted or misunderstood a North Carolina speech which had led them to allege that he favored disenfranchisement. "The whole law ought to be condemned. It is not drawn in the spirit of justice and equality having regard for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and I sincerely hope that no Republican and no Democratic who desires equality of treatment to the black and white races will vote for it."<sup>34</sup> To Bonaparte he wrote that he thought the constitutional amendment proposed in Maryland was "one of the most viciously constructed laws I ever saw, and I have the pleasure in writing a letter condemning it."<sup>35</sup> People all over the country flocked to Bonaparte's side in his fight against the amendment. One Louisianan reviewed for him the history of the disenfranchisement amendments within that state. "We Republicans of Louisiana have had such a bitter experience in this matter that we can speak with assurance on the subject. With us it has meant, not only the disfranchisement of the colored voter, but the disfranchisement of the Republican voter, white and black, and the enfranchisement of the Democratic voter, no matter how ignorant, venal and corrupt he might be."<sup>36</sup> This is what Bonaparte feared would happen in Maryland. He was as much disturbed over the loss of Negroes' voting rights as over the threat of a one-party system

<sup>34</sup> William Howard Taft to William F. Stone, December 22, 1908, in The William Howard Taft Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Letterpress 13. Taft pointed out: "The provision that the first class of eligible voters shall be those persons who on the first day of January in the year 1869, or prior thereto, were entitled to vote under the laws of Maryland or any other State . . . wherein they resided, and that the male descendants of such persons, as a second class, shall be entitled to vote, was intended to exempt the persons thus made eligible from the educational and property qualifications which follow in the descriptions. . . ."

"Now we know the first four classes include no negroes at all. In other words, it is intended to free the whites from educational and property qualifications, but to subject all negroes to them."

<sup>35</sup> William Howard Taft to Bonaparte, December 22, 1908, *ibid.* Bonaparte answered that he was "very glad to see that you take the stand you do respecting our proposed constitutional amendment. It is clearly unjust to negroes and in my opinion a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment." (C. J. Bonaparte to William Howard Taft, December 28, 1908, in Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 185.)

<sup>36</sup> C. S. Herbert to Bonaparte, January 27, 1908, Bonaparte Papers, LC, Box 129.

in Maryland. But he was not unaware of the threat to the Republican party. As his Louisiana correspondent had said, in Louisiana a primary election law had been enacted "providing that all party candidates must be nominated by primary, and giving the State Central Committee the right to exclude negroes from party primaries. The result is now that the Democratic party, in which all officers from Governor to Constable are nominated, and in which only white Democrats participate, is the real election, while the General Election is a formality."<sup>37</sup> A Negro wrote to Bonaparte congratulating him on his stand, telling him that his views were so much in accord "with the settled principles of both religion and liberty that I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to you for their utterance."<sup>38</sup> Another Negro boldly declared that "not since the time of Roscoe Conkling" at whose name Bonaparte, a fervent believer in civil service reform, must have shivered, "has a public man of such high character, exalted position and transcendent ability had the courage to point the Republican party to the high duty it owes itself, the nation and the Negro."<sup>39</sup>

The danger of a one-party system in Maryland and the disenfranchisement of Negroes would not be the only result if the amendment were adopted. Bonaparte was emphatic in his declaration that its adoption would end all reform organizations in Maryland because "there really will be no further hope for them to accomplish anything practical for an indefinite time."<sup>40</sup> Certainly if the "Ring" should be revived with the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, his fear that there would no longer be any opportunity for the Civil Service Reform League was justified. There would be no call for reform because the Democratic party would control state politics to such an extent that there could be no redress in political wrongs. This is not to say that all Democrats in Maryland were politically corrupt. Even Bonaparte could not make such a statement. But the political bosses, the old Gorman "Ring" as it was called, had, like Tammany Hall in New York, the reputation for political intrigue

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> L. M. Henshaw to Bonaparte, February 13, 1908, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> [Sgt?] B. McKay to Bonaparte, February 23, 1908, *ibid.*, Box 130.

<sup>40</sup> Bonaparte to Elliott C. Goodwin, May 24, 1909, *ibid.*, Box 164. Goodwin was executive secretary of the Civil Service Reform League.

and corruption as well as illicit practices at the polls. This is what Bonaparte had in mind when he told Elliott Goodwin, a close friend who was influential in the Civil Service Reform League, that if the Democrats got back in control, there would be no further need of reform parties in the state because, although reform would always be needed, it would be impossible until the voters could be reeducated. As he told Elihu Root, there was every chance of victory for the Strauss Amendment because "our Election Laws have been so tampered with during the last seven or eight years that ample opportunities have been created for frauds in certain portions of the State, and there is a very serious danger that this amendment may be foisted upon us, partly through the efforts of race prejudice and partly through the artifices of unscrupulous political intriguers with the connivance of partisan supervisors of elections."<sup>41</sup>

Bonaparte planned the advertising campaign against the amendment with great care. He suggested that literature—"a reasonable supply"—in English be printed for distribution at the headquarters of the Committee Against the Disfranchisement Amendment. He did not think it necessary to provide this literature in other languages because non-English speaking people were unlikely to attend their meetings. Also, he wanted literature distributed from house to house, but not in the entire city. Such handbills would be wasted in the business districts, and in the Negro sections, he felt, and in the Irish wards and predominantly Catholic sections it would be sufficient to distribute only Cardinal Gibbons' statement against the amendment. He suggested that a certain amount of space in friendly (Republican and Independent) newspapers should be filled up "with carefully prepared matter arranged for that special purpose."<sup>42</sup>

His direction of the campaign against the Strauss Amendment bore fruitful results. On November 3, just one day after the election, he was able to write his former secretary in the Department of Justice—for by now he had retired from public life with the close of the Roosevelt term of office in March 1909—that although the votes were still coming in, it appeared that the

<sup>41</sup> Bonaparte to Elihu Root, September 6, 1909, *ibid.* Root was at this time Governor of New York.

<sup>42</sup> Bonaparte to David H. Carroll, October 15, 1909, *ibid.* Carroll was president of the Citizens Association opposed to the disfranchisement movement.

amendment had been defeated. "This has been the result of a very hard fight against great odds, for I have no doubt that from 20,000 to 30,000 Republican votes, at least, have been lost through 'fake tickets,' 'fake ballots' and other frauds of Election Supervisors . . . The silly optimism of many Republicans was one of the most dangerous features in the situation."<sup>43</sup>

Direction was not all he had given to the campaign. He had also backed it financially. But his rewards were great. He had not transferred political power from the Democrats to the Republicans, but he had dealt damaging blows to Bossism in Maryland which had nurtured itself on prejudice. And in this he had achieved significant victories for the Constitution he so admired, and for democratic freedom he so much loved.

<sup>43</sup> Bonaparte to Henry C. Gauss, November 3, 1909, *ibid.*

## SOME BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES:

### HUNTINGTON OR HUNTINGDON, THE TWO LILIENDALES AND SUMWALT RUN

(Continued from Vol. LIV, No. 1 March, 1959)

By WILLIAM B. MARYE<sup>1</sup>

*The helpless landscape dies  
Of brutal hands laid on it  
By greedy men that scorn it.  
'Tis murder'd where it lies.*

**H**UNTINGTON Avenue, which runs northwest from Twenty-fifth Street (formerly called Huntington or Huntingdon Avenue), west of Oak Street (now Howard); Saint John's Episcopal Church Huntingdon, which stands in its extensive grounds on the eastern side of the York Road, a short distance below Thirtieth Street; and Huntingdon Baptist Church, Thirtieth and Barclay Streets—these still surviving names serve to remind us of one of a limited number of land-grants of the seventeenth century upon which Baltimore City now stands: "Huntington."

"Huntington," 135 acres, was laid out for Tobias Starnboro (*sic*), June 29th, 1688. Its northwestern boundary coincides with the southeastern bounds of a tract of land surveyed five days earlier, "Merryman's Lott," of which Homewood is a part.<sup>2</sup> The description of these two land-grants affords a clue to an aspect of the wilderness which once lay therein or thereabouts. Such clues are very rare. The fourth line of "Huntington" and the fourth

<sup>1</sup> For further commentary, and corrections of Mr. Marye's previous article, see Notes and Queries of this issue.—*Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Records for Land, Liber 22, f. 438 and 440, Land Office of Maryland. Tobias Starnboro was the founder of the Stansbury family. "The Stansbury Family," by Christopher Johnston, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IX (March, 1914), 72-88. His parents were, respectively, Detmar and Renske Sternberg. Though they had a German name, Dr. Johnston thought they came from the Low Countries.

line of "Merryman's Lott" run north-east, each sixty perches "into the barrens." The ends of these lines, two separate boundaries in the barrens, are situated, respectively, in modern terms, on or near Melville Avenue east of Frisby Street near the Stadium and at or near Lambeth Road and Greenway, Guilford, and are distant a little over  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a mile from one another. Undoubtedly, a tract of "barrens" stretched between these points.

It is certainly a significant fact that late in the seventeenth century much land in what is now Guilford remained "vacant." For example, "Cox's Paradise," 46 acres, was surveyed for James Cox, June 16, 1772. The certificate of survey calls for "Merryman's Lott."<sup>3</sup> "Garrittson's Meadows," 52 acres, surveyed for "Joe" (Job) Garrittson, October 4, 1769, lies along the northern limits of the Guilford area, in Guilford.<sup>4</sup> Far more significant is the case of "Sheredine's Discovery," a vast tract of land, containing 1900 acres, surveyed for William Chetwynd and Company (The Principio Company), 5 April 1743, and hitherto all vacant land.<sup>5</sup> "Sheredine's Discovery" occupies part of the eastern side of Guilford, but by far the greater part of it lies east of the York Road. These lands, which remained vacant so long, were undoubtedly deemed to be of very inferior quality (they were certainly not overlooked) from an agricultural point of view. (The Principio Company was interested, of course, in iron deposits and wood for charcoal.) In my opinion they partook of the nature of "barrens," and were, in fact, a part of the "barrens" cited in the certificates of survey of "Huntington" and of "Merryman's Lott," (1688). These barrens are not to be confused with the great barrens, which lay many miles to the westward.

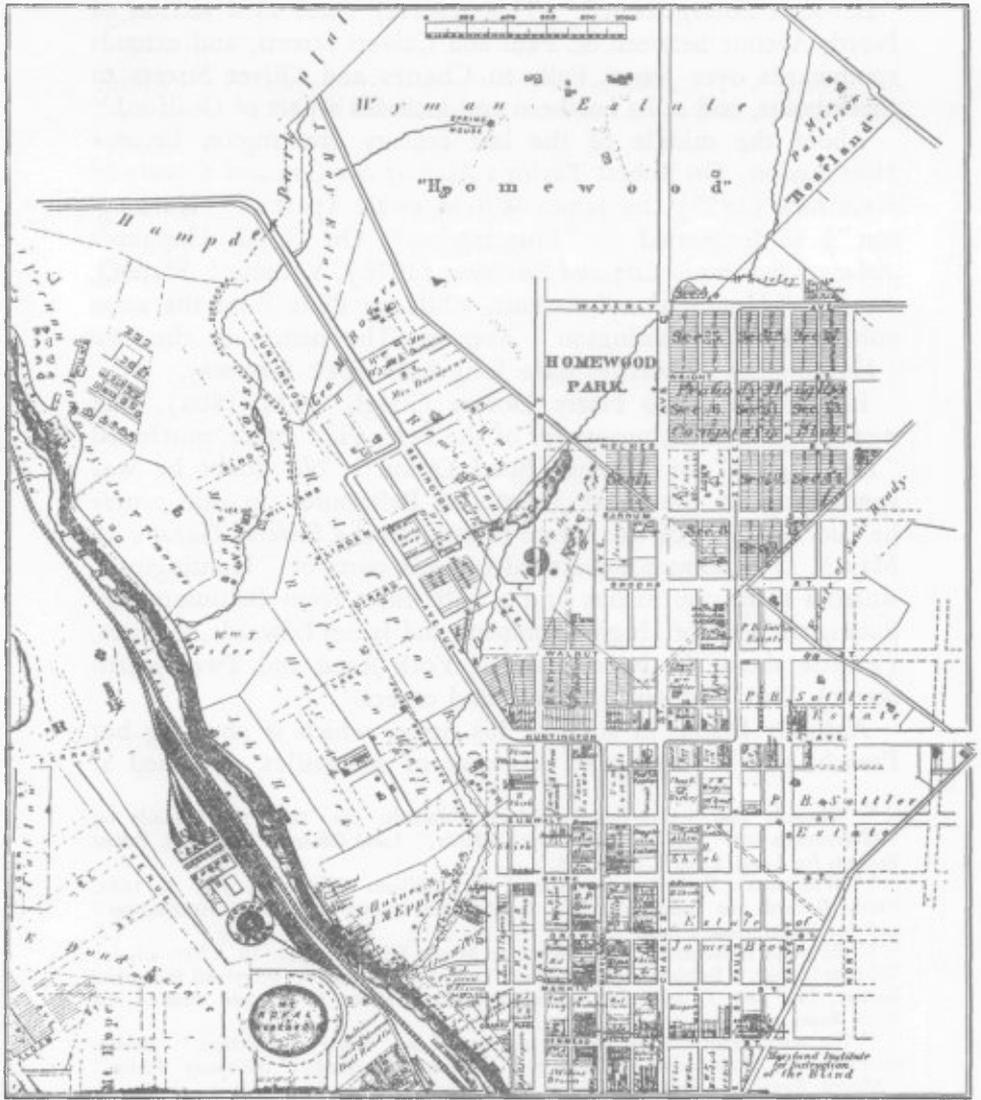
The original "Huntington," as distinguished from a later and much larger tract of land of the same name, in which it was included, is divided into nearly equal parts by Merryman's Lane, now University Parkway. The second "Huntington" was surveyed for John and Achsah (Ridgely) Carnan, September 29th, 1757, and contained 475 acres.<sup>6</sup> It was a resurvey on the original

<sup>3</sup> Patented Certificate No. 1250, Baltimore County, Land Office.

<sup>4</sup> Patent Records for Land, Liber B C and G S No. 39, f. 172, Land Office.

<sup>5</sup> Patented Certificate No. 4427, Baltimore County.

<sup>6</sup> Patented Certificate No. 2452, Baltimore County. Mr. and Mrs. Carnan were the parents of Charles Ridgely Carnan, who assumed the name and arms of Ridgely and inherited the now famous Hampton estate and mansion.



From G. M. Hopkins, *City Atlas of Baltimore and Environs* (1876) Plate R.

"Huntington," on "Edwards Lott,"<sup>7</sup> "Wilkinson's Folly,"<sup>8</sup> and "Edwards Enlargement."<sup>9</sup> This resurvey takes in a section of North Avenue between St. Paul and Calvert Streets, and extends southwards over Jones' Falls to Charles and Oliver Streets or thereabouts, and at its northern end includes a part of Guilford.<sup>10</sup>

About the middle of the last century Huntington became Huntingdon. On Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857) the James Wilson estate (part of "Huntington") is designated as "Huntingdon." On G. M. Hopkins's *Atlas of Baltimore City and Environs* (1876), Volume 1, Plate Q, we find "Huntingdon" Avenue, while on Plate R of the same volume it is "Huntington" Avenue. The names of the two "Huntingdon" churches have long been spelt that way.

In the year 1790 Harry Dorsey Gough, (1745-1808), that wealthy gentleman, proprietor of the Perry Hall estate, purchased "Huntington" of Thomas Bond Onion.<sup>11</sup> No doubt he was speculating on the rapid growth of Baltimore. In due course he laid out parts of this estate in lots. In the *Federal Gazette* of May 3, 1799, Gough advertised for sale parts of "Huntington," situated from one to one and a half miles from Baltimore, adjoining the seats of Hugh Thompson and James Edwards, esquires, (a little above the intersection of York Road and Twenty-fifth Street), Dr. [Anthony] Mann "and others."

Anthony Mann, in spite of his name, which is anything but French, was a Frenchman, a native of Marseilles. He died at

<sup>7</sup> "Edwards Lott," surveyed for Moses Edwards, Jan. 10, 1701, bounds on "Merryman's Lott" and on "Wilkinson's Folly." Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber C D, f. 165.

<sup>8</sup> "Wilkinson's Folly" was surveyed for William Wilkinson, July 2, 1688. Patent Records for Land, Liber 22, f. 438. The survey calls for "Huntington" and for "Merryman's Lott."

<sup>9</sup> "Edwards Enlargement," surveyed for Moses Edwards, Oct. 18, 1707, adjoins "Edwards Lott." Baltimore County Rent Roll. Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, No. 883, f. 249. Its beginning place is about 35 perches west of the York Road.

<sup>10</sup> The resurvey of "Huntington" is bounded by "Ensor's Inspection," "Merryman's Lott," "Sheredine's Discovery," above mentioned; "Salisbury Plains," "Mount Royal," "Hanson's Wood Lott," and "Darley Hall." It is worthy of mention that a two-acre lot belonging to the vestry of Saint Paul's parish was omitted in the resurvey on "Huntington," as prescribed in the record.

<sup>11</sup> Liber W. G. No. E. E., f. 167, Baltimore County: Thomas B. Onion to Harry D. Gough, part of "Huntington," 476 acres. In 1792 Lavalin Barry surrendered to Harry Dorsey Gough part of "Huntington," being Lots No. 59, 76 and 77. Liber W. G. No. J. J., f. 4, Baltimore County.

his seat near Baltimore, September 14, 1823, in his sixty-third year.<sup>12</sup> He came to America during the Revolution and served as a surgeon aboard a letter of marque vessel. He practiced the art and mystery of an apothecary in Baltimore Town, at the Sign of the Brass Mortar, Light Lane and Market Street, a slight come-down from his doubtless honorable and exciting career in the American service. Dr. Mann's house is described about 1800 as a new "elegant two story brick dwelling 50 by 26 [feet] near Rutter's mill." Adjacent to this mansion stood a one story brick gardener's house 14 x 10 feet.<sup>13</sup> Here, we may well imagine, the gallant *meridional* entertained his friends in style. Dr. Mann's mansion stood across the site of Hunter Alley, between Calvert Street and North Street (now Guilford Avenue), and between North Avenue and Townsend Street (Lafayette Avenue), but nearer to the latter. After Dr. Mann's death it was occupied (until the land was "developed") by a family named Cooke.<sup>14</sup> The farm on which the mansion stood was part of "Haile's Fellowship."

In order to "develop" his property Gough laid out roads.<sup>15</sup> One of these roads, as I remarked in my preceding article, the later Gilmor or Vineyard Lane, for a time bore his name.<sup>16</sup> A small section of it near the York Road is still in use. Upon Gough's death, a considerable part of "Huntington" remained unsold, and was passed on to his family.<sup>17</sup>

The subdivision of "Huntington" brought into being a number of country seats, with their attendant small farms and pastures, which were no doubt all lovely in a quiet way, though not exactly pretentious. Among them were Hugh Thompson's (later Holmes')

<sup>12</sup> Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>13</sup> Particular Tax List, Baltimore Co., Lower Patapsco Hundred. Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>14</sup> T. H. Poppleton, *Map of the City of Baltimore*, 1851.

<sup>15</sup> Liber A. W. B. No. 361, f. 134 Baltimore Co.: deed, August 6, 1845, John Mycroft to Philip E. Sadtler, part of "Huntington Resurveyed," "beginning at a stone set up or planted on the southwest side of a private road laid out by Harry Dorsey Gough from the York Turnpike road to the ground of Hugh Thompson and others" for the accommodation of certain lots. This deed calls for "the road leading to Rutter's Mill" (Lanvale Road).

<sup>16</sup> As stated in the previous article, a road going from Stricker's Ford, on Jones's Falls to the York Road, at St. John's Church Huntingdon, was once known as "Harry Dorsey Gough's Road."

<sup>17</sup> Package Plats No. 17, Court House, Baltimore City: James and Charles Ridgely's plat of part of "Huntington," dated January, 1823. Surveyed 1809.

"Liliendale," on Red Lane, Robert Patterson's "Roseland," James Wilson's "Huntingdon," William Gilmore's "The Vineyard," the Sadtler place and Mayor Samuel Brady's estate, which has been mentioned previously under "Brady's Run."

Thompson, a native of Ireland, died in Baltimore, in his 66th year, a Baltimore merchant of 43 years standing.<sup>18</sup> In his will he devised to his wife his "country seat being the land I purchased of Mr. Gough and others."<sup>19</sup> In the Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, ca. 1800, we find the following entry:

Hugh Thompson, Balto., owner and occupant, Lyliendale, an elegantly furnished 2 story dwelling of Brick raised 8 feet 60 by 20 projection 12 by 10 same height," etc. . . . This property formerly owned by Henry Willmans. 31 acres.

The above mentioned mansion, later the residence of the Holmes family, stood in the area bounded by Holmes Street (now Twenty-eighth street), Saint Paul Street, Barnum Street (Twenty-seventh Street) and Morton Alley.<sup>20</sup> James Kearney's "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Its Vicinity" (1817), shows the house of Hugh Thompson, situated immediately north of the intersection of Red Lane and Gilmore Lane (neither named). These two old lanes originally intersected one another close to what was to be the corner of Saint Paul and Twenty-seventh Streets.

The curious hybrid name of "Liliendale," which Thompson bestowed on his mansion and estate, was shared at one time with that which is now Homewood, the seat of Johns Hopkins University, and is attributed to Henry Willmans, a native of Bremen. Willmans (1751-1795), a man of distinction, was Third Grand Master of the Masonic Order.<sup>21</sup> There is a Lilienthal near Bremen, and it is my belief that it was from the name of this town that the name, Liliendale, was derived. In the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Commercial Advertiser* for Jan. 23, 1795, Willmans advertises for sale his country seat, "Liliendale." The place is

<sup>18</sup> Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>19</sup> Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 12, f. 308.

<sup>20</sup> Hopkins' *Atlas*, 1876, Vol. I, Plate R.

<sup>21</sup> Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (1884), I, index.

described as situated "in a genteel neighborhood," and containing about 100 acres of land. Mr. Willmans bought of Charles Carroll of Carrollton 79 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres of "Merryman's Lott" in 1794, and the following year 25 acres more.<sup>22</sup> To this estate he probably gave its name, "Liliendale." Later in the year 1795 he sold his interest in "Merryman's Lott" (now Homewood), to Messrs. Stephen Casenave and James Walker.<sup>23</sup> In the *Federal Gazette* of February 27, 1796, Messrs. Casenave and Walker offered "Liliendale" for sale. On August 30, 1801, Richard Caton, son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, conveyed to Charles Carroll, Jr., only son of the latter, a tract of land containing something over 122 acres, being one-half of "Merryman's Lott," otherwise known as "Liliendale," which he the said Caton purchased of Samuel Moale, trustee for the sale of the estate of Stephen Casenave.<sup>24</sup> Such was the origin of the famous Homewood estate, which was then still called "Liliendale," while, at the same time, Mr. Thompson was calling his place by the same name.

The last we hear of Homewood under the name of "Liliendale" is, I believe, in a letter addressed by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his son, Charles, dated Annapolis, 24th January, 1801, vizt:

The sums already paid by me on account of Liliendale . . . will sink deep into the \$1500 allowed for improvements . . . A house 47 by 25 with other buildings you speak of will cost considerably more than \$12,000 all costly buildings will be so much money sunk; the time cannot be far distant when you will have to sell Liliendale; the expensive house will impede the sale.<sup>25</sup>

Only six days later in a letter dated January 30 of the same year the father sternly warns his son on the subject of the proposed mansion:

That house with the out houses will I am confident greatly exceed \$10,000, and that is the utmost sum which ought to be laid out in buildings on Homewood.<sup>26</sup>

The estate is called "Homewood" three times in this letter, and "Liliendale" does not occur at all.

In a letter dated Annapolis, February 12, 1801, the father chided his son again about his grandiose plans:

<sup>22</sup> Liber W. G. No. Q. Q., Baltimore County Land Records.

<sup>23</sup> Liber W. G. No. R. R., f. 190, Baltimore County Land Records.

<sup>24</sup> Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 111, Baltimore County Land Records.

<sup>25</sup> Carroll Letters, Johns Hopkins University Library.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

While you live in Baltimore it will be necessary for the health of your family and for the exercise of your mind and body to have a house on Homewood to retreat to in summer and autumn. I would recommend the repair of the present buildings on that Farm and some additional rooms to make it a comfortable, cool and convenient residence during these seasons.<sup>27</sup>

If common sense had prevailed and Mr. Carroll's sage advice had been heeded, we should have no Homewood mansion today. The curious thing to me is that the old gentleman did not lay down the law.

Whence comes the name of Homewood? Is it a fancy name? There are several English Homewoods, but we see no connection between any one of them and our Baltimore Homewood. The reason for changing the name of the place from "Liliendale" to something else was probably due to the fact that Mr. Thompson was calling his "elegant" mansion by that name, and neither he nor the mansion could be ignored.<sup>28</sup>

Robert Patterson's "Roseland" stood on the top of a low hill which fell rather precipitously into the hollow of Sumwalt Run. As I remember the house, it was small, long, low and quaint. The site was a short distance below University Parkway, on the east side of Calvert Street. So much leveling and filling has gone on in this vicinity that it is hard to imagine how it once looked.

"Huntingdon," a farm extensive for a suburban neighborhood, belonged to James Wilson (1775-1851), one of the earlier members of the socially prominent Wilson family of Baltimore. The place stretched from the York Road down to and across Merryman's Lane and across Thirtieth Street (once Waverly Avenue) to Gilmor Lane. To the best of my recollection, the Wilson mansion stood at the intersection of Thirty-third Street and Guilford Avenue, facing south. I recall that when Thirty-third Street was laid out from Charles Street towards the York Road, the old Wilson house was left standing on a high artificial bank on the north side of the new thoroughfare. The author takes this occasion to say that he first became acquainted with this part of the Sumwalt Run valley in 1899, when he was suffering martyrdom

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> In 1945 this author addressed a letter to the late Philip Acosta Carroll, Esq. of Doughoregan Manor, only to learn that Mr. Carroll could throw no light on this subject.

as a "boarder" at the Country School for Boys (now Gilman Country School), at Homewood. In 1899 this valley, from Twenty-ninth Street at the top of the ridge, to Merryman's Lane and beyond, was all open country—lovely country, too. However, in 1900, the block of houses now standing on the west side of St. Paul Street, between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Streets, was raised. It was the beginning of the end.

The Gilmor-Whiteley mansion, known as "The Vineyard," stood on the north-west side of Vineyard Lane, between 28th and 29th streets, and appears to have been built before 1799. The land on which it stood, 17 acres, part of "Huntington," was conveyed by Harry Dorsey Gough to James W. Thomas in 1792.<sup>29</sup> Thomas sold it the following year to one Picard Durando.<sup>30</sup> Durando "released" the land to James Waters, in 1794, who made it over to Charles S. P. Want and wife.<sup>31</sup> The Baltimore County Tax List for Patapsco Lower Hundred, c. 1800, gives the following information about this property:

"Stephen Waunte seat near Walker's from Picard Durando. A 2 story brick dwelling 40 x 16 well finished," etc. "The situation remarkably fine & Purchased from Picard Durando being part of Huntington, 16 acres."

This house stood for about 150 years. The "Wante" house, with its attendant gardens, is shown on Warner and Hanna's map of the city of Baltimore, 1801. William Gilmor (1775-1829), of the distinguished Gilmor family of Baltimore, purchased this property in 1802.<sup>32</sup> Among the parties from whom he acquired title was Henry Messonier, attorney for C. P. S. Wante. Here he lived and died. He gave his name to Gilmor's Lane.

After his death "The Vineyard" remained for some years in the possession of his family. Some time between 1852 and 1857 it was acquired by William Stevens Whiteley (1826-1910), son of William Stevens Whiteley, of Dorchester County (1774-1859). Mr. Whiteley married Miss Elizabeth E. Holmes, daughter of John and Ann (Craig) Holmes, of Philadelphia, Pa. On Robert Taylor's map is shown the residence of W. S. Whiteley, "Vine-

<sup>29</sup> Liber W. G. No. I. I., f. 457, Baltimore County Land Records.

<sup>30</sup> Liber W. G. No. L. L., f. 90, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

<sup>31</sup> Liber W. G. No. O. O., f. 55, 109, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

<sup>32</sup> Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 477, 483, Baltimore Co. Land Records.

yard," on the north west side of Gilmor Lane (not named). Mr. Whiteley's grandson, this author's kinsman, Mr. Stockett Matthews Whiteley, tells me that his grandfather added the third story to "The Vineyard," and the wings. He says that in his opinion his grandfather also built the greenhouses on the estate. "The Vineyard" was pulled down in 1958.

Southeast of Thompson's "Liliendale," on the other side of Red Lane, and on both sides of Charles Street Extended, lay the show-grounds of the Maryland Agricultural Society, which were bounded on the northwest by the Sumwalt property.<sup>33</sup> A resolution to acquire this land was passed by this society, May 28th, 1851. Between 1851 and 1860 six exhibitions were held there. At the outbreak of the Civil War the Government took over these show grounds for a mustering-in camp, which became known as Camp Bradford.<sup>34</sup>

Red Lane, which appears to have been one of the old original roads of this section of Baltimore city (unless Mr. Gough had a hand in it, or part of it), is so named in G. W. Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore County*, 1898. A section of this lane, shown on Bromley's *Atlas* of the city, 1896, is called Sumwalt Lane. It extends from Barclay Street to Gilmor Lane (so named), at Saint Paul and Twenty-seventh Street. On Kearney's "Sketch" we observe the entire course of Red Lane (not named), from the York Road to Merryman's Lane (not named), a short distance east of Stony Run. On this same map is shown, at the intersection of Red Lane and Gilmor Lane, a place plainly marked "Red" [house?]. I do not doubt that it was from this place, whatever it was, that Red Lane took its name. Hopkins' *Atlas* (1876), Plates Q and R, shows us the whole course of Red Lane (not named), from Merryman's Lane to the York Road. From the York Road, at Huntington Avenue (Twenty-fifth Street), to

<sup>33</sup> Isaac Simmons' *Map of the City and Suburbs of Baltimore*, 1853, has "Agricultural Society" in the angle formed by Red Lane (not named) and Gilmor Lane (not named), opposite "Holmes" and adjacent to "Sumwalt." Thomas P. Chiffelle's *Map of the City of Baltimore and Part of Baltimore County*, 1852, has "Md. Agricultural Society Grounds" on the north-west side of Gilmor Lane (not named), adjoining Sadler (*sic*) and W. Holmes. Taylor's map of 1857, cited above, has "Cattle Show Grounds" at the intersection of Charles Street and Gilmor Lane (not named). See also map of Baltimore, by A. E. Rogerson and L. P. Brown, ca. 1854: "State Agricultural Grounds," west of Charles Street, at intersection of Red Lane and Gilmor Lane (neither named).

<sup>34</sup> John T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (1881), p. 846.

Holmes Street (now Twenty-ninth Street), between Maryland Avenue and Oak Street (now Howard), the old lane pursued an even course; then curved around Homewood, along the present lines of Wyman Park Drive, to San Martin Drive, running thence along the lines of this road about a hundred yards. From this point to University Parkway, deep in the valley of Stony Run, Red Lane is probably intact even today. That section of the lane in Wyman Park was known in the past century as Mankin's Road. It was so named for Henry Mankin, who had a country estate, "Mount Pleasant," in this valley, extending over to Hampden. The name Mankin's Road, occurs on a Plat of the Hampden Improvement Association Property, 1857. Mankin's Road (or Red Lane) is there shown crossing Stony Run twice. The lower crossing was situated between two ice ponds, lying west of the University grounds, the President's House and Gilman Hall.

Sumwalt Run, from its source to its mouth, is shown on Hopkins' *Atlas*, 1877, at page 52. The mouth of the run, where a polluted stream of water still issues, is shown by Hopkins to be at Jones's Falls and Mankin Street (now Twenty-first Street). Sumwalt Run is called "the first great branch" of Jones's Falls in the certificates of survey of "Merryman's Lott" and "Huntington" (1688). In the certificate of survey of "Edwards Lott," laid out for Moses Edwards, January 10, 1701, and in that of "Addition," surveyed for Nicholas Haile, same day,<sup>85</sup> it is called "Edwards his Runn," and by that name, derived from Moses Edwards, it was known for not less than a century and a half. Not accounting for twists, turns and bends, I estimate the length of this stream at one mile and four-fifths. To judge by the fact that it was styled "the first great branch" of Jones's Falls, it would seem that in its primitive state Sumwalt Run was larger than either Spicer's Run or Jenkins' Run, the only possible rivals for the title.

The upper reaches of Sumwalt Run, except for its source, lie within the bounds of "Merryman's Lott"; its middle reaches in "Huntington" and its lower reaches within "Mount Royal." The sources of the run are shown on Hopkins' *Atlas* (1876), Volume 1, Plates Q and R, and on Bromley's *Atlas* (1896), Plate 18. The main source was on the Lowndes estate, "Wyanoke," east of the Old York Road and north of Pen Lucy Avenue. The

<sup>85</sup> Patent Records for Land, Liber C. D., f. 396, Land Office of Maryland.

run crossed Merryman's Lane (now University Parkway), east of Saint Paul Street, where it now passes under the grounds of the Carrollton Apartments. A spring, which issued from the side of the hill on which the Cathedral Church of the Incarnation stands, emptied into the run at this point. Sunwalt Run flows beneath the vast and towering Marylander Apartments and underneath the Hopkins Apartments, where it turns towards the west, after receiving the waters of a spring branch<sup>86</sup> from the east. There, at Saint Paul and Thirtieth Streets, as I very well remember, stood a steep bank, on the southern side of the run, overgrown with beech trees and very beautiful. West of Charles Street, the hollow or "dell" (as it is somewhat insipidly called), between the Baltimore Museum of Art and Twenty-ninth Street, is the valley of Sunwalt Run, where the stream flows underground. From Twenty-ninth Street to Jones's Falls the valley of Sunwalt Run is covered by a very deep "fill." Sunwalt's Ice Pond, (known to numberless Baltimoreans in its day) was an extensive sheet of water, almost a small lake, which stretched from Holmes Street (Twenty-eighth Street) diagonally to Barnum Street (Twenty-seventh Street) and was fed by the stream. A good map of this pond may be seen in Hopkins' *Atlas*, vol. I, Plate R. The pond at that time lay wholly within the lands of Daniel Sunwalt. This estate, part of "Huntington," was acquired in part by a member of this family, Frederick Sunwalt, in 1844.<sup>87</sup> He died, July 8th, 1848, in his eighty first year. Samuel Sunwalt purchased additional land in 1851.<sup>88</sup> A most interesting account of Sunwalt's Ice Pond was written by the late B. Latrobe Weston and published in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of March 11, 1932.<sup>89</sup> The ice crop from the pond was harvested and marketed by the Sunwalt Ice Company.

<sup>86</sup> I remember this stream. It had its source a short distance north of Merryman's Lane, between Barclay Street and the York Road (Hopkins' *Atlas*, Vol. I, Plate R), and at one time, I believe, watered "The Vineyard" meadow, north of Waverly Avenue or Thirtieth Street. Mr. Stockett Matthews Whiteley tells me that when he was a boy he caught minnows in it.

<sup>87</sup> Liber T. K. No. 342, f. 396, Baltimore County Land Records: Charles R. Carroll *et ux*or to Frederick Sunwalt, 25 acres, part of Huntington, June 12, 1844.

<sup>88</sup> Liber A. W. B. No. 463, f. 62, Baltimore County Land Records: Charles W. Ridgely, trustee, to Samuel Sunwalt, part of "Huntington," 8¼ acres, adjoining the land conveyed by Charles R. Carroll and wife to Frederick Sunwalt, on 12 June, 1844. Deed dated 29 July, 1851. The land therein conveyed is bounded by "Mount Royal."

<sup>89</sup> The author is indebted to Miss Elizabeth Litsinger, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., for this information.

# MARYLAND POPULATION: 1631-1730:

## NUMERICAL AND DISTRIBUTIONAL ASPECTS \*

By ARTHUR E. KARINEN

**I**N this study an attempt will be made to trace the numerical and distributional development of Maryland's population from the time of first white settlement in 1631 to the year 1730. Numerically population grew from a few score to a total of 470,000, and distributionally it spread from the small group living on Kent Island to all parts of Maryland.

Information pertaining to population prior to the First Census is at best scanty and somewhat inconsistent. The population information available pertains most frequently only to segments of the population such as: taxables or tithables, prisoners, militia, families and freemen. Other types of information, which at times may be used as indicators of the total population, are the number of houses and assessments from the state and other legislative orders which were based on population. The relationship which exists between any segment of population and the total population may be expected to vary chronologically and spacially. The variabilities have been smoothed and state-wide relationships for certain time periods have been established and used for the conversion of raw segmental data into total population. When multiple segments furnished data for a particular time, they were cross-correlated and relationships modified on the basis of the correlations.

The most numerous data for the pre-census period are those relating to taxable persons, as mentioned in the tax laws. This data has been a major source for this study. However, one must recognize some of their limitations: i. e., under-enumeration and definition. The definition of taxable persons was changed over

\* This article is based on Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958). Howard Gees of Georgetown University advised on the writing of the introduction.

the years by several Assembly actions, most of which were only modifications in existing definitions to plug loopholes. The lack of contemporary data or discussion of the effects of these changes makes present-day-analysis impossible. But a somewhat more basic alteration was made in the definition in 1676 which should have had an effect of sufficient magnitude to be important to this investigation. In 1676, the base age for taxation of servants and slaves was raised from ten-years-and-above to sixteen-years-and-above. It is estimated that this change caused at least a ten percent change in the ratio of taxables to total population. Inconsistencies and variabilities in the information of individual counties make it impracticable to use different ratios for each county, hence statewide ratios have been computed from a few sets of information for taxable population to total population.

The earliest contemporary population figures which are of sufficient detail to enable the computation of ratios are for the year 1701.<sup>1</sup> These data for taxable and non-taxable population are used to create the ratio between taxable and total population. The taxable population of 12,214 added to the non-taxable population of 20,034, produces a total population of 32,248. When the taxable population of 12,214 is divided into the total population of 32,248 the quotient is 2.6. This is the ratio (2.6:1) between the taxable population and the total population. Once having a ratio all data which lists taxable persons may be converted to total population by multiplying by the ratio i. e.  $12,214 \times 2.6$  equals 31,756, which compares favorably with the actual 32,248. Similar data for 1704, 1710, 1712 and 1756 yield ratios of 2.6:1, 2.8:1, 3.0:1 and 3.0:1 respectively. Data from the First Federal Census of 1790 permits calculation of a taxable ratio, requiring an assumption that the approximate ratio of sixteen-years-and-above to below sixteen years of 1:1 for white as well as to Negroes. The 1790 ratio under this assumption is 3.0:1. As the 1790 ratio agrees with the 1712 and 1756 values, it has been used for the period 1712-1790 for conversion of taxable population to total population. With 1701 as a base, it is assumed that the minor changes in the definition of taxables occurring

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Gov. Blakiston, April 8, 1701, which lists the inhabitants of Maryland by counties, with the exception of Baltimore. Md. Arch., Vol. XXV, 255.

after 1676 could have effected the ratio but little, hence 2.6:1 is used as the ratio from 1676-1705. One may expect that prior to 1676, when all slaves and servants were taxed at ten-years-and-above, there were more taxable persons and the ratio smaller. The smallest ratio suggested by any source for the earliest years is 2.0:1. An assumed ten percent change in the value of this ratio would be .2. When the post 1676 ratios of 2.6:1 is decremented by .2 the ratio becomes 2.4:1. This ratio has been used for the pre-1676 period though future analysis may prove it to have been too high. The state-wide ratios for taxable population which have been used are: 1631-1675, 2.4:1; 1676-1705, 2.6:1; 1706-1711, 2.8:1; and 1712-1790, 3.0:1.

Little data are available from which to calculate ratios from house occupancy but where cross-correlations of data were possible these ratios group around the value of 7:1 suggested by Greene and Harrington,<sup>2</sup> hence this value was used. Similarly, there were few data upon which to base ratio calculations of family size, but the results of the calculations agreed with the ratio of 6:1 indicated by the census of 1790. Of a somewhat different nature are the assessments of various government costs allocated to the counties on a population basis. Thus if the total state population is known, or that of one county, the population of all counties can be calculated, since the percentage that each county has of the state population is indicated by its percentage of the total assessment.

#### NUMERICAL CHARACTERISTICS 1631-1730

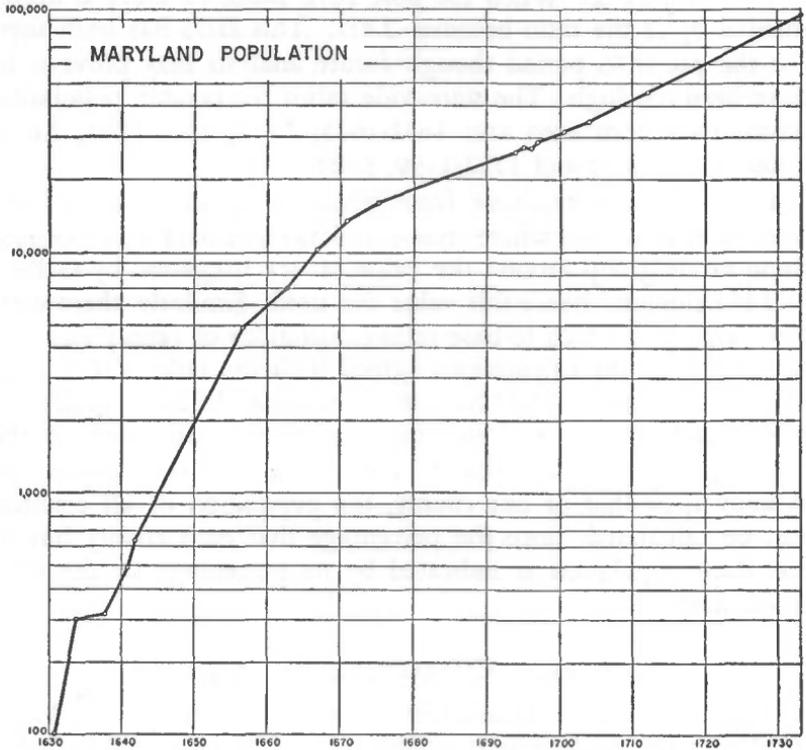
The first white settlement within what constitutes present Maryland was the trading post established on Kent Island by Claiborne in 1631. It is debatable whether it should be considered the initial settlement since its intent was that of a trading post, though one historian states that it had grown to a plantation of about one hundred souls by 1634.<sup>3</sup>

The settlement of St. Marys in 1634 by the Calverts is considered by many to be the initial settlement. There seems to be

<sup>2</sup> Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington. *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Mathew P. Andrews. *History of Maryland, Province and State* (Garden City, 1929), p. 43.

no evidence whereby the exact number of people who accompanied Lord Calvert can be established beyond question, but the figure commonly accepted is 200. The earliest year for which population numbers can be estimated is 1637. These data are contained in the Assembly Proceedings which give the attendance figures for the assembly held at St. Marys beginning on the 25th day of



January, 1637.<sup>4</sup> There were 67 freemen in attendance with Kent Island being represented by proxy. Our conversion factor, 2.4, gives a population of about 160, which is below the original 200 assumed to have landed in 1634. Since most of the records for this early period were destroyed in 1644, during Ingle's Rebellion, it is impossible to corroborate any suggested explanations for the lower number. One possible explanation is that some of the settlers may have moved to Kent Island and were not included

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 2-4.

since Kent Island was represented by proxy, but there are no records of any of the St. Marys group having moved to Kent Island. It is possible, of course, that the conversion factor of 2.4:1 is wrong, or that the assumption that there were 200 settlers in the original party was not correct. A final explanation is that the difference may be a result of deaths exceeding births.

The data for 1638 is conflicting. One source is a listing of Freemen voting for Burgesses<sup>5</sup> and another is the Assembly membership list.<sup>6</sup> The totals do not differ greatly but the individual hundreds have some notable discrepancies. For instance the Island of Kent has 49 freemen and 9 assemblymen, and St. Marys 16 and 56. When the Freemen list is converted to population, the Island of Kent has 117 people, and the remainder of St. Marys County has 137, which is somewhat below the 1637 population of 160.

	<i>Freemen</i>	<i>Assembly Membership</i>
St. Maries Hundred	16	56
St. Michaels Hundred	14	
St. Georges Hundred	20	18
Mattapanient Hundred	7	7
Island of Kent Hundred	49	9
	<hr/> 106	<hr/> 90

When the Assembly membership list is converted, the Island of Kent has 21 people and the remainder of the province has 195. It seems that for the Island of Kent, the Freemen list is more reasonable while for St. Marys County the Assembly list is better. Bozeman, using a family ratio of 5:1 estimates the population of Kent Island in 1639 at 120.<sup>7</sup> Combining the Freemen list for the Island of Kent with the Assembly list for St. Marys County gives a total for Maryland of 312.

If the figure 312 for 1638 is correct, the increase in population over that of 1634 is large enough to indicate that some immigration took place, but there are no records of ship arrivals. On the basis of data from the Census of 1776 some crude birth rate calculations have been made for four Hundreds, three in Harford

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Sebastian F. Streeter, "Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland," *Fund Publication No. 9*, Md. Hist. Soc., 1876, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Bozeman, John L. *History of Maryland from its First Settlement in 1663 to the Restoration in 1660* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1837), II, 100.

County and one in Frederick County. Since the 1776 census gives ages, it is possible to determine the number under one year, and by a simple calculation to arrive at a birth rate. The rates 33, 33, 32, and 37 per 1,000 compare favorably with rates based on later Federal Censuses. Even if we assume a birth rate of 33 per 1,000 and no deaths the 200 people arriving at St. Marys in 1634 would only have increased to about 230 by 1638 leaving some 90 to be accounted for. This difference must have been made up by immigration from either Virginia or England.

The next available figures are for 1642 and again the data are not uniform. Various sources give populations that range from 346<sup>8</sup> to an estimate by Bozeman of 900.<sup>9</sup> Which is correct is impossible to say. Two of the sources give a breakdown by hundreds and are therefore more useful. From the July-August Assembly Proceedings the data yield a population of about 500<sup>10</sup> while the August Assembly Proceedings give a figure of 650.<sup>11</sup> It is possible, however, that the July-August data may have been based on levy lists for 1641, while the August data were for 1642 since each of the hundreds shows an increase in population from the July-August to the August data.

The data for 1657 are based upon a tax levy which upon conversion yields a population of 4,870.<sup>12</sup> This value seems to fit the curve rather well, in that it continues the trend from the previous period. The rate of population increase is rapid, though numerically it is still small, being only about 270 per year.

During the period between 1642 and 1657 settlement had progressed to such an extent that it was considered desirable to establish two counties, Anne Arundel and Calvert in 1650. Anne Arundel was established around the new Puritan settlements along the Severn River. The formation of Calvert County reflected the spread of settlement along the Patuxent. Immediately after 1657 Charles and Baltimore Counties were formed, in 1658 and 1659 respectively, indicating that settlement had spread so far up the Potomac and to the head of the Bay that attendance at the Court in St. Marys was no longer convenient. Settlement of the Eastern Shore mainland did not begin until the treaty was signed with the Susquehanna in 1652.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Md.*, III, 120.

<sup>9</sup> Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 257.

<sup>10</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 152.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 363.

For 1660 two modern estimates of population give 8,000 and 12,000.<sup>13</sup> Both seem high compared to contemporary data for 1663 which record a population figure of 6,900.<sup>14</sup> Even at the lower figure of 8,000 for 1660, there would have been a drop in population of about 1,100 during the three years to 1663. By ignoring the 1660 estimates and drawing a line instead to the figure 6,900 for 1663 the resulting curve shows a decrease in population growth.

By 1662 settlement had spread from Kent Island to the mainland, into the present Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, and a new county, Talbot, was established. On the Eastern Shore increasing settlement by Virginians in present Somerset County resulted in its establishment as a county in 1666. Two years later the area between the Choptank and Nanticoke Rivers was made into Dorchester County.

A population estimate of 16,000 for the year 1665 seems high, particularly since the contemporary value of 10,300<sup>15</sup> for 1667 fits the general trend of the curve better and reflects an increase in the rate of population growth over that of the previous period. The 1667 data is based on militia for service against Indians and calls for every tenth person in each county. Those liable for military duty at this time were males over sixteen years of age, essentially the taxable persons. This assumption is substantiated by data on taxables for the same year in St. Marys County, for which the number of taxables was given as 688,<sup>16</sup> and the number liable for military duty as 690. The numerical growth between 1663 and 1667 showed an increase of 850 per year, more than double the growth of the previous period. By 1671 the number of taxable persons had reached 5,641,<sup>17</sup> which upon conversion results in a population figure of about 13,500. Thus there was a numerical increase of about 800 per year over 1667, somewhat smaller than the increase for the period 1663 to 1667. By 1671 settlements had formed a nearly continuous, though narrow, strip around the margins of the Bay and major estuaries except for the mainland of southern Dorchester County and the Nanticoke River

<sup>13</sup> Thomas J. C. Williams, *The State of Maryland, A Description of its Lands, Products and Industries* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 506.

<sup>16</sup> *Arch. Md.*, V, 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 21.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 341.

although there were settlers on some of the offshore islands. Increasing settlement at the head of the Bay resulted in the division of Baltimore County in 1674, when the area to the east of the Susquehanna River became Cecil County and that to the west of the river Baltimore County. Prior to that time Baltimore County included the area covered by the present Cecil, Harford and Baltimore Counties.

A list of tithables for 1675 indicates that the population had increased to about 15,850.<sup>18</sup> The rate of increase as well as the numerical increase, about 580 per year, was smaller than for the previous period. The spread of settlement was merely a continuation of the previous pattern with a narrowing of the gaps and a spread farther up the estuaries. The interiors of all the counties were still unsettled.

For the next twenty years there are relatively poor data. The figure for 1676, an estimated population of 20,000,<sup>19</sup> is high, especially when compared to the 1675 population of 15,850, an increase of over 4,000 in one year. The next value of about 11,000<sup>20</sup> for the year 1681 is obviously too low, since it indicates a drop in population of nearly 5,000. There is no evidence in the historical records to indicate that such a drop occurred at this time though some twenty years later, in 1695 and 1697, notice was taken in the Council and mention made by Gov. Nicholson in a letter to the Board of Trade in England, that inhabitants were being induced or "inticed" to leave the Province. Gov. Nicholson said "The reasons as I conceive which induce the inhabitants of this province to leave it are, the encouragement which they have from the Carolinas and the Jersey but particularly from Pensilvania, which being so very nigh they easily remove thither."<sup>21</sup> How significant in numbers this movement was is difficult to say, but since it warranted notice it may have been sufficient to modify the rate of growth. This may be an explanation in part for the rather marked variations of the data during the 1690's and the first decade of the 1700's.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>19</sup> James S. M. Anderson, *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (3 vols.; London, 1856), II, 395.

<sup>20</sup> *Arch. Md.*, VII, 187.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 279, 328, and XXIII, 84.

The estimate of 25,000<sup>22</sup> for 1683 seems high. The same number, 25,000, for 1688, while not so high relative to the general trend of the curve, is still somewhat high unless the 1690 figure of 27,000<sup>23</sup> based on a taxable list is a correct value. This 1690 figure seems high when compared to data for 1694, 1695, 1696 and 1697. Figures for all these years are based upon taxables and hence subject to error due to variations in the conversion factor. The only justification for using the 27,000 population figure for 1690 would be the assumption that the resultant leveling-off of the curve from 1690 to 1694 was due to the departure of people from the Province as stated by Gov. Nicholson. The 1694 figure is low since Cecil County is omitted.<sup>24</sup> Adding an estimated value for Cecil County would increase the total for the state to nearly 26,000 and place it very close to the general trend of the curve. Numerically the increase from 1675 to 1694 was about 500 per year which was somewhat less than for the previous period. By 1694 settlement had progressed far enough up the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers to justify establishment of a new county, Prince Georges. Elsewhere lands farther inland and up the estuaries were being taken up, but the interiors of all the counties were still unoccupied.

From 1694 to 1701 all the figures seem to follow the general trend rather closely. The figures for 1701 are considered the first accurate population data available.<sup>25</sup> The list does lack Baltimore County and whether or not its population was included in the figures for the other counties is not clear. The value, 32,258, fits the curve very well.<sup>26</sup> If a Baltimore population obtained from a taxable listing in another source is included, the state total is increased about 1,700<sup>27</sup> to a total of nearly 34,000, and thus results in an increase in the rate of growth followed by a marked leveling-off of the curve for the next three years.

The 1704 figure of 34,912<sup>28</sup> comes from a contemporary

<sup>22</sup> Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, Extending From 1649 to 1857* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Evarts B. Green, and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. 124.

<sup>24</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, LIII, lvii.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>27</sup> William N. Wilkins, "Baltimore County Tax Lists 1699-1706, 1737, 1773," *Ida-Charles Foundation*. Typed Ms. Md. Hist. Soc., p. vi.

<sup>28</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

Colonial Governor's (estimated?) list which includes county populations. It fits the curve very well and continues the general trend indicated by the previous periods of a rather rapid steady increase. The continuing spread of settlement up the Eastern Shore estuaries resulted in the establishment of a new county, Queen Annes, made up partly from Kent County and partly from Talbot County.

The 1707 figure of 33,883,<sup>29</sup> given in Gov. Seymour's letter to the Lords of Trade, is low when compared to the 1704 figures. These data do not give county listings so it is impossible to determine whether some counties were excluded, as was the case with Baltimore County in the 1701 data.

The figures, 42,741 for 1710,<sup>30</sup> and 46,151 for 1712,<sup>31</sup> are contemporary county by county listings, and fit the general trend of the curve very well. The numerical increase from 1704 to 1712, about 1,400 per year, was higher than for the previous period.

For 1715 there are three population figures, two of which differ by only seventy and a third which appears to be incorrect. This last figure, a population of 30,000,<sup>32</sup> implies a decline in population of about 16,000 over a three-year period. The first two figures, 50,270<sup>33</sup> and 50,200,<sup>34</sup> lie near the general trend of the curve.

For 1728 there is an estimate of 80,000<sup>35</sup> which seems to be reasonable in that it lies on the curve as drawn connecting the 1715 data with the figure for 1733.

The 1733 figure, 94,320,<sup>36</sup> is calculated from a tax listing in the Council Proceedings. As is the case with all data on taxables the conversion factor may introduce an error, but since it seems to fit the curve rather well it is assumed to be near the correct value. The numerical increase from 1715 to 1733 was over 2,400 per year. Settlements were beginning to reach into the Piedmont at

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>32</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Newport News, 1953), p. 455.

<sup>34</sup> John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland, From the Earliest Period to the Present* (Baltimore, 1879), I, 383.

<sup>35</sup> *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XI, 283.

<sup>36</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

a few locations by 1730. On the coastal plain there was a continuous fringe of settlement on the bay and along the estuaries, but the interiors of all the counties still contained unpopulated areas.

This first period of settlement on the coastal plain is marked by a very rapid rate of increase in population until about 1670, and then by a slower, but still rapid and steady, increase to the end of the period in 1730. The numerical growth has been from 200 in 1634 to 16,000 in 1670, and over 82,000 by 1730. In terms of percentages the increase by decades was rather high, over 100% before the 1670's followed by a marked drop to a range of 30% to 50%. The explanation of this sudden drop in the rate of growth is not apparent. The drop is too great to have been caused by changes in birth rates. The other two alternatives are either a decrease in the number of immigrants, or if immigration remained steady, emigration to other states. There are no indications that the latter was taking place at this time, and what factors in Europe could have affected emigration to Maryland is not clear.

TABLE 1  
PERCENT INCREASE FOR STATE BY DECADES

1640-1650	212
1650-1660	352
1660-1670	122
1670-1680	36
1680-1690	28
1690-1700	49
1700-1710	26
1710-1720	39
1720-1730	39

### COUNTIES

In the following section the counties will be discussed in order of their formation. The regional aspects are dealt with in the discussion of the "Percent Change Maps" that follows the county section.

**ST. MARYS.** St. Marys County at the time of its formation in 1637 included the settlements around St. Marys City as well as those on Kent Island. The earliest data available except for the

original estimated number of 200 settlers who arrived in 1634, are for the year 1637,<sup>37</sup> and, since Kent Island was not enumerated they apply to the St. Marys City settlements. These data give a population figure of 160, which, as has been mentioned in the state discussion, indicate a decrease from the 200 estimated as having arrived in 1634. The records are admittedly sketchy for these first years, but there is no evidence that enough persons moved from the vicinity of St. Marys City to cause the drop in population. The only movement noted was across the St. George's River (now St. Marys) which resulted in the erection of a hundred called St. Georges.<sup>38</sup> Since no evidence is available by which to ascertain which of the values is correct, there is no point in further speculation beyond what has been mentioned in the foregoing state discussion.

The figures for 1630 provide data by Hundreds and thus it is possible to give the figures for the St. Marys settlements exclusive of Kent Island, even though theoretically the Kent Island population should be included since Kent was not made into a county until 1642. By separating the data the curve is more realistic from the viewpoint of area growth. The 1638 population for St. Marys is approximately 200.<sup>39</sup>

For 1639 it is possible to obtain an interpolated value, which lies somewhere between 240 and 280 depending upon whether the interpolation is based upon the state values, 254 (1638) and 650 (1642), or on county values, 160 (1637) and 200 (1638). The lower figures lie closer to the curve that results from connecting the 1638 and 1642 data.

In 1642 the Kent Island settlements, which previously had been designated a hundred, were made into a county, because of increasing population on Kent Island and difficulty of attendance at Court in St. Marys City. For this year we have several figures, of which the most reasonable seems to be the value 427,<sup>40</sup> since it bears out the rather steep curve begun by the 1637 and 1638 figures. A figure of 329<sup>41</sup> is also given but when the data upon which it is based is studied more carefully it appears to be for the year 1641 rather than 1642. The 1642 data are by hundreds

<sup>37</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 2-4.

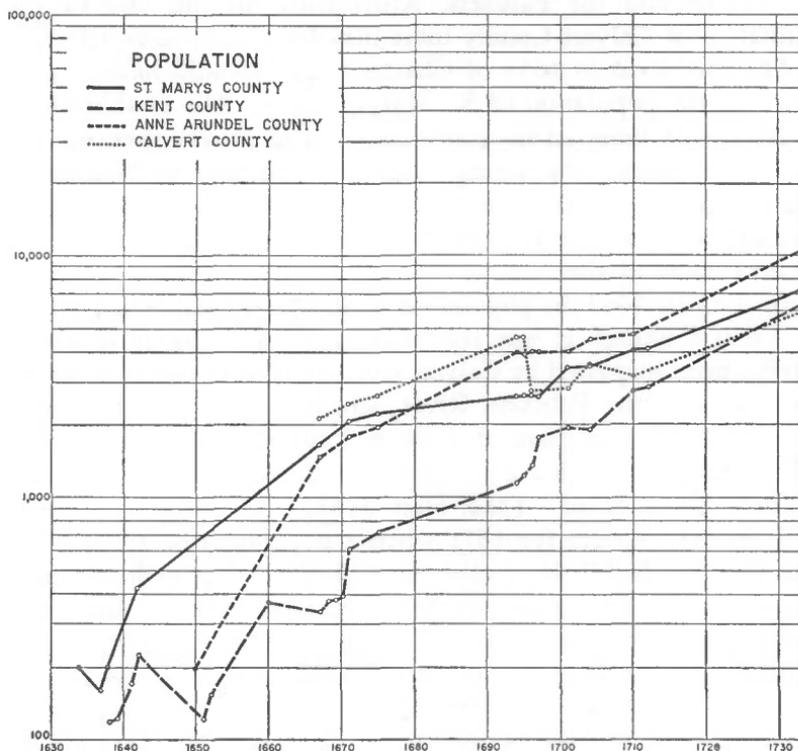
<sup>38</sup> Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>40</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

and give a clue to how far settlement had proceeded. St. Clements Hundred was located around present day St. Clements Bay in St. Marys County. Twenty-five taxable persons indicate a population of about 60, which is rather sparse even if they were all close to the Potomac River. Mattapanian Hundred was to the north of St. Marys City on the Patuxent. St. Michaels was south of St. Marys City and included the peninsula toward Pt. Lookout.



St. Georges Hundred was to the west just across the river from St. Marys City.

The next figure for St. Marys County is for the year 1648 and is calculated from an assessment.<sup>42</sup> The value, about 340, is lower than the 1642 figure and indicates a decrease in population for which there is no evidence.

In 1650 two additional counties were formed, namely Anne

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

Arundel and Calvert. Since the next year for which figures are available is 1667, it is impossible to show the effect of their formation on the population curve for St. Marys County. The establishment of Anne Arundel County would have very little effect since it was practically coincident with its initial settlement, which occurred during the previous year. The number of settlers was small in 1650, and there were none between the Severn settlements and the Patuxent settlements. In the case of the formation of Calvert County there may have been some effect.

The formation in 1658 of Charles County would have had an effect on the population of St. Marys County. The establishment of the county reflected the continuing spread of settlement up the Potomac with settlers having reached the vicinity of Nanjemoy. An interpolation based upon 1662 figures suggests that Charles County had a population somewhere between 300 and 400 at the time of its formation.

By the year 1667 the population of St. Marys County had grown to 1,650<sup>43</sup> though it was no longer first in terms of numbers, having been surpassed by Calvert County. The settlements on the west bank of the Patuxent River, which today are in St. Marys County, were then part of Calvert County. The dividing line which passed through a generally uninhabited area coincided with "Three Notch Road" (Md. State 235).

The next data are for 1671 when a population of about 2,100 had been reached.<sup>44</sup> Up to this time the rate of growth had been the same as for the previous thirty years but this year marked a sudden drop. For the four years from 1667 to 1671 the increase in numbers was over 100 per year, while from 1671 to 1675 it was only slightly over 25 per year. With a population in 1675 of 2,200<sup>45</sup> St. Marys County became third in rank, having been passed by the growing Eastern Shore county of Talbot as well as by Calvert on the Western Shore. No further figures are available until 1694 when a population of about 2,600 was reached.<sup>46</sup> The intervening period was characterized by a very slow increase, only 400 in nineteen years, and actually the period of a very low rate continued for twenty-one years since the two following years showed no increase.

<sup>43</sup> *Arch. Md.*, V, 20.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 341.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>46</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

The hundreds on the west bank of the Patuxent were taken from Calvert County in 1695 and divided between St. Marys and Prince Georges. The difficulty of attempting detailed interpretations is well illustrated by the data of this 1695, 1696 and 1697 period.<sup>47</sup> In 1695 Calvert County had listed a population of 4,660, and in 1696 it had dropped to 2,720, but the figure given for 1697, 4,740, obviously still included the population of the hundreds taken from Calvert in 1695. St. Marys County, on the other hand, had in 1695 a population of 2,640, in 1696 a population of 2,630 and in 1697 a population of 2,610, and it is not until four years later, in 1701, that it jumped to 3,513,<sup>48</sup> no doubt, the result of including the areas taken from Calvert and given to St. Marys. In 1696 Prince Georges had a reported population of 1,710 but the following year only 1,340 and by 1701 it had risen to 2,358.<sup>49</sup> The 1695 population figure for Charles County is 2,580, for 1697 it is 1,900 and for 1701 it is back to 2,632.<sup>50</sup> In the above cases there is enough data spaced sufficiently close in time to permit the detection of errors, but in many other cases where no data is available for adjoining years, marked errors may go undetected. The sharp rise in the curve from 1697 to 1701 is then explained by the addition to St. Marys County of the hundreds on the west bank of the Patuxent. The data for 1701 then are the first to include the areas that makes up the present bounds of St. Marys County, and subsequent changes are internal rather than because of boundary changes.

From 1701 to 1704 there was no increase, the population, in 1701 being 3,513 and in 1704 only two people greater at 3,515.<sup>51</sup> St. Marys had now dropped to fifth in population rank. By 1710 the population had increased at the rate of about 100 per year to 4,121,<sup>52</sup> putting the county back in third place. This increase is not out of line with later increases for the county.

In 1712 a drop of about 30<sup>53</sup> was registered but from 1712 to 1733 the rate of increase was the same as for the 1704-1712 period. The numerical increase was about 150 per year to a total of 7,185,<sup>54</sup> but in rank the county had dropped down to sixth place.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255; XXIII, 17-21, 248.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

For St. Marys County during this first period the numerical growth pattern was similar to that of the state. From the initial settlement to about 1670 the growth rate was rather rapid, after which it dropped suddenly, although it still continued at a fairly rapid rate. Some of the interior parts of the county were as yet entirely unsettled and others had only sparse population.

KENT COUNTY. While Kent County as constituted today dates from 1706, it was established as the second county in 1642. At the time of its formation it included only Kent Island, which was the only settled area on the Eastern Shore until around 1650 when the movement to the mainland began. Kent Island is now a part of Queen Annes County. As already mentioned, the establishment of the trading post on Kent Island in 1631 by Claiborne is sometimes considered the original settlement in Maryland. There was bitter controversy between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore as to whether or not the establishment of the post by Claiborne negated the provisions of the Maryland Charter which specified "hitherto uncultivated." Claiborne claimed that Lord Baltimore did not have under his charter any right to Kent Island. The dispute was settled in Lord Baltimore's favor on the basis that Claiborne's license was for a trading post only. At any rate Kent County, as originally defined, had its first settlement in 1631. The exact number of people associated with this settlement is not known. Andrews states that the trading post on Kent Island had grown into a plantation of about one hundred souls. The presumption is that he is referring to 1634, when St. Marys City was founded.

The first data we have are for Kent Island, not county, and give a population of 117 in 1638.<sup>55</sup> The figure is based on Freeman and Assembly Membership and as such is subject to error in conversion. For the following year there is an estimated population of 120.<sup>56</sup> The next data are for the year 1642 and hence the first figures for Kent County, which was established in this year. The figure 225,<sup>57</sup> when connected with the 1638 data, results in a curve that has nearly the same slope as St. Marys County, except that it is smaller in numbers. The curve indicates a relatively rapid rate of growth.

<sup>55</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 28.

<sup>56</sup> Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 100.

<sup>57</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

For 1652 there are two figures, 155,<sup>58</sup> based on a list of taxables, and 330,<sup>59</sup> based on an assumption that a list of men (65) swearing allegiance to England represented heads of families. The 155 figure at first seems low, by about 70 persons. During this decade, 1642 to 1652, there was considerable disturbance and actual strife. Claiborne and Ingle had re-taken Kent Island and from there invaded and took over the western shore. Many of Calvert's supporters were forced to flee the Province. In 1646 Lord Calvert recaptured the Western Shore, and in 1647 Kent Island. These events may explain the loss in numbers and make reasonable the seemingly low figure of 155 for the year 1652. In connection with the second figure it should be noted that the number swearing allegiance, 65, was almost the same as the number of taxables, 64. The normal conversion for taxables for this period seems to be about 2.4. Support for a low figure is given by Bozeman who believes that there could not have been more than twenty families on the Island in 1651.<sup>60</sup> If this is converted at the family ratio of 6:1, the resulting population figure would be about 120.

From these low values of 1651 and 1652 the figures indicate a rapid rate of increase until 1660 with a total population figure of 365,<sup>61</sup> based on the tax levy. Thus the increase from 1651 was nearly 250, which can be accounted for only by migrations from the western shore. On July 5, 1652, a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians which granted the whites settlement rights on both sides of the Bay down to the Choptank on the Eastern Shore and to the Patuxent on the western shore, stimulated migration to the mainland on the Eastern Shore. By 1660 settlements had been made along both shores of the lower Chester River, around Eastern Bay and its estuaries, a few scattered settlements on the north bank of the Choptank River, and the beginnings of settlement in Somerset County by Virginians from Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

The drop in the Kent County population from 1660 to 1667 was a result of the loss of most of the mainland settlements to the formation of Talbot County. Kent now consisted of Kent

<sup>58</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 14.

<sup>59</sup> George A. Hanson, *Old Kent, the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Chestertown, 1936), p. 57.

<sup>60</sup> Bozeman, *op. cit.*, II, 419.

<sup>61</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 231.

Island and the lower half of the present Kent County. The dividing line ran from Worton Creek on the Bay to Morgan Creek on the Chester several miles north of Chestertown. The population in 1667 was 340, which placed Kent County at the bottom of the list in population rank.<sup>62</sup>

The following three years, 1668, 1669 and 1670, saw a rather slow increase, about 20 per year.<sup>63</sup> From 1670 to 1671, however, there was a marked rise in the curve to a total of 620, an increase of over 200 people.<sup>64</sup> From 1671 to 1675 the rate of growth was again slower, numbering about 25 a year. The population was now 720 and did not as yet include the settlements on the south bank of the Sassafras, which at this time belonged to Cecil County.<sup>65</sup> The area lying between these Sassafras settlements and those in lower Kent County was unoccupied. Settlements had reached to about Chestertown on the Chester River.

The growth for the next 19 years, to 1694, was at the slow rate of about 25 persons per year. The population in 1694 was 1,160.<sup>66</sup> In the following year the boundary between Kent and Talbot was defined and Kent Island was taken from Kent County, but the upper half of what is now Queen Annes County was given to Kent County and thus more than balanced the population loss resulting from the removal of Kent Island. This exchange apparently added some population since the curve to 1697 rises rather sharply.<sup>67</sup>

From 1697 to 1701 the rate of increase was much less and from 1701 to 1704 there was a slight decrease. In 1701 the population was 1,930<sup>68</sup> and by 1704 it had been decreased by 40 to 1,891.<sup>69</sup> By this time settlement had reached nearly to the Delaware boundary on the Chester and Sassafras Rivers and was essentially continuous along the shores of the Bay. The interior was still unoccupied.

In 1706 the boundaries of Kent were defined as they are today. The area south of the Chester was given to a new county, Queen Annes, and the settlements on the south side of the Sassafras were taken from Cecil and given to Kent County. The exchange of

<sup>62</sup> *Md. Arch.*, V, 21.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 250, 270, 305.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 317.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>66</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 248.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

territory did not affect the population of Kent to any great extent, the loss in the south being balanced by the gain in the north. In 1710 the population of Kent County was 2,753<sup>70</sup> and by 1712 it had increased to 2,886<sup>71</sup> which followed the general trend of the curve. From 1712 to 1733 the increase in population was at the rate of just over 100 per year, reaching a total of 6,290.<sup>72</sup>

In general, on the graph Kent County's growth appears to fluctuate more than that of St. Mary's but this may be due to the greater number of years for which data are available for Kent County. The rapid growth of St. Marys County in the 1670's and the subsequent slowing down is not evident in the case of Kent County.

ANNE ARUNDEL. Anne Arundel County, established in 1650, had its initial settlement in 1649 when, in response to several invitations issued by the Maryland officials, a group of ten Puritan families from the shores of Nansemond River in Virginia settled on the Severn River near present Annapolis.<sup>73</sup> These ten families probably made up a total population of about sixty persons in the original group. In 1650, "the greater part of a group of some three hundred souls settled at Providence on the Severn."<sup>74</sup> What the "greater part" means is open to question, but a guess of about 200 is reasonable.

No additional data are available until 1667 when Anne Arundel had a population of 1,490 and was tied for third in population rank.<sup>75</sup> Prior to 1659 the few settlers at the head of the Bay, in what became Baltimore County, may possibly have been included with Anne Arundel County. Their numbers would not have been great, at most between two and three hundred. Since we have no data we must leave the curve as a line connecting the 200 of 1650 and the 1,490 of 1667. The growth rate was about 80 per year. During the Puritan Revolution, 1654-57, the name of the county was changed to Providence. By the time settlements reached the southern boundary, around 1655, that boundary had

<sup>70</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>73</sup> Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland*. Maryland Geological Survey, Special Publication, Vol. III, Part 5. (Baltimore, 1907), p. 435.

<sup>74</sup> Mathew P. Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 227.

<sup>75</sup> *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

been established in nearly its present position so that no appreciable changes in population were caused by the minor adjustments occurring later. The northern boundary was not defined until 1674 when the southern boundary of Baltimore County was stated to run two miles inland from the south bank of the Patapsco River. In 1698 the line was placed so as essentially to follow the divide between the Patapsco and Magothy. This boundary remained until 1726 when the present boundary, following the Patapsco, was established.

The next data are for four years later, 1671, and give Anne Arundel a population of 1,780,<sup>76</sup> an increase of about 75 per year. By this time all the shore and estuaries had been settled, with the Patuxent settlements reaching the extreme southwestern part of the county.

In another four years the population had reached 1,960, and the county was fourth in population rank.<sup>77</sup> The rate of growth was less than for the 1667-71 period, which marked a change from a rapid early growth. From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was a continuation of the rate for the previous period. The population had now reached 4,000 and the county was second in rank.<sup>78</sup> The growth rate was about 100 per year. The periphery of the county was now well settled but the interior was still largely unoccupied.

The population remained nearly stationary from 1694 to 1701. In 1701 it numbered 4,121, an increase of only 120 in seven years.<sup>79</sup> This was the period during which attention in the legislature was called to the departure of people from the province, and this may be a partial explanation for the leveling-off of the curve. From 1701 to 1704 the growth rate was the same as it was prior to 1694, an increase of about 110 per year. The population in 1704 was 4,572, which placed Anne Arundel first in rank.<sup>80</sup> During 1704 to 1710 the rate of increase was again slower, having grown only about 200 in the six years, or about 33 per year. The population was now 4,778 and the county was back to second in rank, having been surpassed by Somerset.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51.

<sup>78</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

From 1710 to 1712 and on to 1733 the growth rate was again more rapid, increasing at the rate of about 250 per year. The population in 1733 was 10,650, which placed the county second in rank, behind Prince Georges County.<sup>82</sup> If more detailed data were available the curve would show the effect in 1726 of annexation of the area on the south side of the Patapsco. How many were added is difficult to say with accuracy, though an estimate can be made on the basis of the data for Baltimore County. In 1706 the south side of Patapsco Hundred had 166 taxables which would convert to a population of about 500,<sup>83</sup> so that in 1726 there may possibly have been as many as 600.

The overall growth pattern for Anne Arundel was similar to that for the state. The growth at first was very rapid and then tapered off sharply around 1670, though the rate of increase was still fairly rapid when compared to later periods.

**CALVERT COUNTY.** The term Calvert County was first used in July of 1654 when the Council made both sides of the Patuxent River up to Lyon's Creek into a county. Prior to this a part of the area had been made into a county called Charles. (There is no connection between this and present Charles County which was founded in 1658.) It was formed apparently as a result of an agreement between Lord Baltimore and a Robert Brookes, whereby Brookes was to be commander of a county to which he would bring a group of colonists, and included only the south and west side of the Patuxent. Later in 1654, during the Puritan Revolution, the name of Calvert County was changed to Patuxent. The name Calvert was restored in 1658. The lands on the south and west shores of the Patuxent were included with Calvert County until 1695 when they were divided between St. Marys, Charles and Prince Georges Counties. The present day boundaries of Calvert County date from 1695.

The first settlements on the Patuxent were made in 1637 by the Jesuits at Mattapany near present Millstone Landing, now included within the Patuxent Naval Air Test Center. The site was given to the Jesuits by the Indians in 1634. In 1637 they constructed a building and had eight husbandmen there. By the following year, 1638, their number had grown to fourteen and

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>83</sup> Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

the Patuxent area was made into a hundred called Mattapany.<sup>84</sup> Data for 1638 show that there were only seven freemen in "Mattapanient" Hundred. This converts to a population of about 25.

In 1642 an assessment for Assembly attendance indicated that Mattapanian Hundred had a population of about 45.<sup>85</sup> Other than knowing that with the arrival in 1650 of the above mentioned Brookes, an additional 40 people were added, we have no data until 1667 when a population of 2,130 was indicated by a taxable listing.<sup>86</sup> Calvert was at this time first in population and remained so until 1695 when, as a result of the loss of the settlements on the west side of the Patuxent, it dropped down to fourth.

From 1667 to 1694 growth was uniform but at a much slower rate although numerically it still was about 100 per year. By 1694 the population was 4,650<sup>87</sup> and in 1695 it was about the same, 4,655.<sup>88</sup> The drop by 1696 to a figure of 2,720, as mentioned above, was caused by the loss to Prince Georges, Charles and St. Marys Counties of the lands on the west side of the Patuxent.<sup>89</sup> This loss amounted to about 2,000 persons.

The listed 1697 figure of 4,740 obviously still includes the areas given to St. Marys, Charles and Prince Georges and thus are in reality pre-1695 data, rather than 1697 as listed.<sup>90</sup> This figure is not entered on the graph.

From 1696 to 1701 Calvert County's curve levels off as do the curves for all the counties during this period.<sup>91</sup> This may be due in part to the departure of people from the province. Another possible explanation is the movement of people up the Patuxent. The formation in 1695 of Prince Georges testifies to the numbers that had moved north. The source of these migrants would most likely be from the southern counties including Calvert.

By 1700 only small areas in the interior of Calvert County remained unsettled. The shores of the Bay and the Patuxent were essentially occupied.

From 1701 to 1704 the curve rises rapidly with a population of 3,611 in 1704<sup>92</sup> and then drops nearly 400 by 1710 to a

<sup>84</sup> Henry J. Berkeley, "History of Calvert County 1634-1734," typed manuscript, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>85</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, 142.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 21.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

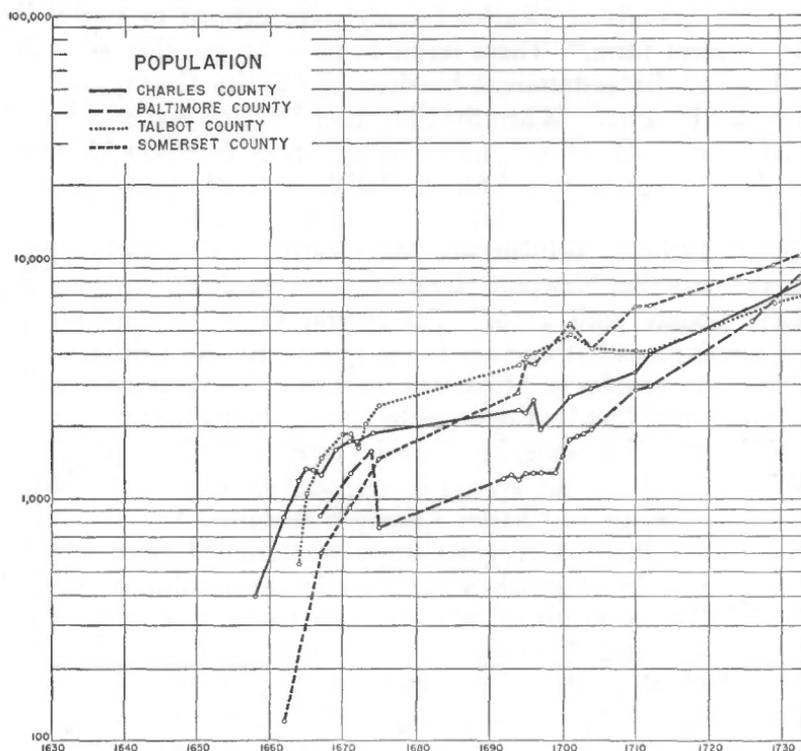
<sup>90</sup> See St. Marys County discussion.

<sup>91</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

population of 3,216.<sup>93</sup> There is no explanation for this drop unless the 1704 figure is erroneously high. From 1710 to 1733 the curve is uniform, rising at a rate similar to the other counties for this period. The population in 1733 was 5,900, having increased from 1710 at a rate of about 130 per year.<sup>94</sup>

Like the other two counties and the state, Calvert's growth



pattern was characterized by a rapid early rate to around 1670, followed by a much slower, though still rapid rate for the remainder of the period.

**CHARLES COUNTY.** The name Charles County has been used for two different areas. In 1650 the south side of the Patuxent River was made into a county called Charles. In 1654 the name

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

was changed to Calvert and later in the same year to Patuxent and then four years later, in 1658, back to Calvert. By 1658 the settlements up the Potomac around Port Tobacco and Nanjemoy Creeks had grown to such an extent that it was deemed necessary to establish a county to serve these people. There is no information as to just when the county was formed; either the bounds were not defined or the records have been lost. Mathews states that in 1695 the bounds of Charles County were defined in essentially their present form.<sup>95</sup> There seems to be some question as to the position of the easternmost hundred of Charles County, namely Newport Hundred. When the Church of England was established in Maryland in 1692 and the parishes formed, Newport Hundred was included in King and Queen Parish of St. Marys County. In 1706 an Act was passed uniting Newport Hundred of King and Queen's Parish to William and Mary Parish of Charles County.<sup>96</sup> Skirven says that Newport Hundred was considered a part of St. Marys County until 1716.<sup>97</sup> For several years starting in 1698 and running to 1730 we have in the records for All Faith's Parish listings for taxables in "Charles County part," indicating that the jurisdiction of Charles County extended to the Patuxent.<sup>98</sup> Parish statistics, therefore, must be used with care since it is apparent that Parish bounds do not always correspond to county boundaries. The only change in Charles County boundaries occurring after 1695, when Prince Georges County was formed from Charles County, was in 1748 when the area in the northwest part of Charles County north of Mattawoman Creek was taken from Prince Georges and returned to Charles County.

On the basis of data for 1662,<sup>99</sup> 1664<sup>100</sup> and later the population of Charles County at the time of its formation, 1658, has been estimated at somewhere between 300 and 400. The first data is from a taxable listing for the year 1662, which converts to a population of 860.

By 1665 a population of 1,335 had been reached, an increase

<sup>95</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

<sup>96</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 629.

<sup>97</sup> Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 171.

<sup>98</sup> J. H. Berkeley, "Early Records of The Church and Parish of All Faith's, St. Marys County, 1692-1835," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX, 1935, 8.

<sup>99</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIII, 273.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 522.

of about 160 per year.<sup>101</sup> For the two following years a decrease of about 60 was registered so that the 1667 population was 1,270.<sup>102</sup> The decrease is so small that it may be due to errors in either the 1665 or 1667 figures. Two years later, in 1669, the population had increased to 1,600.<sup>103</sup> The rate, 165 per year, was similar to that for the previous period. From 1669 to 1671 the increase was slower, totaling only 160, a rate of 80 per year.<sup>104</sup> From 1671 to 1672 a loss of 33 was registered.<sup>105</sup> From 1672 to 1674 the population increased to a figure of 1,880<sup>106</sup> with essentially no further increase during the following year.<sup>107</sup>

From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was slow, an increase of only 450 in nineteen years, or a rate of 25 per year. The 1694 population was 2,330.<sup>108</sup>

From 1694 to 1695 there was a slight decrease to a total of 2,265,<sup>109</sup> followed by a rise to 2,575 for 1696.<sup>110</sup> From 1696 to 1697 there was a drop of nearly 700 in population.<sup>111</sup> The loss of territory in the formation of Prince Georges County may have contributed somewhat to these decreases, but since the major area of settlement in Prince Georges County at this time was on the Patuxent the loss by Charles County would have been only the scattered settlements on the Potomac. Another explanation is suggested by McSherry who says ". . . in 1694-95 an unusual scarcity prevailed and a destructive disease made its appearance among the livestock of the farmers and planters. In these two years 25,429 cattle and 62,375 hogs died. This was a heavy blow to the colony. Their misfortune did not stop here, two years later a violent epidemic made its appearance among the people of Charles County resulting in great loss of life."<sup>112</sup>

Four years later, in 1701, the population had again reached 2,600 thus recovering the 1696-97 losses.<sup>113</sup> From 1701 to 1704 the rate of growth was less, only about 85 per year.<sup>114</sup> The rate for the next six years was about the same.<sup>115</sup> From 1710 to 1712

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 619.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 21.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 229.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 341, LX, 348.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 586.

<sup>107</sup> James McSherry, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 82.

<sup>108</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>108</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>113</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

there was a rather sharp rise with an increase in population of nearly 600. From 1712 to 1733 the rate of growth was again slower. In 1712 the population was 4,009<sup>116</sup> and by 1733 it was 7,870,<sup>117</sup> an increase of 190 per year.

Thus it appears that Charles County had a pattern of growth similar to the other counties. The rate of growth was rapid up to the 1670's and then much slower to 1733.

**BALTIMORE COUNTY.** The records of the establishment of Baltimore County have never been found, so neither the exact date of its foundation nor the original boundaries are known. The year 1659 has become the commonly accepted date for its formation.<sup>118</sup> According to an examination of land grant records, by Mathews, the boundaries at the time of its formation seem to have included the land on both sides of the Bay north of the Patapsco and Chester Rivers with the exception of Eastern Neck in lower Kent County.<sup>119</sup>

Prior to 1652 when the treaty was made with the Susquehanna Indians, permitting settlement to the head of the Bay, there were very few if any settlements. The earliest data, a taxable list, for Baltimore County is for the year 1667, eight years after its establishment. In that year, the county had a population of 865.<sup>120</sup> What the population in 1659 was it is impossible to say, but since a county was not formed unless there was a demand, an estimate between 300 and 400 would not seem unreasonable.

The earliest settlements were made in the eastern part of the county. The first court sessions were held in 1661 near the mouth of the Sassafras River in present Kent County. In 1664 the Court was held at Carpenter's Point on Northwest River. From 1674 to 1768 they were held within what is now Harford County. This sequence of court sites indicates the general trend of settlement and shift of the center of population from east to west.

From the 1667 population there was a rapid rise to 1,280 for 1671,<sup>121</sup> an increase of about 100 per year. By this time settlements were to be found along the Bay shore and the lower parts of the estuaries and there was a greater inland penetration on the Eastern Shore. This more widespread settlement on the Eastern Shore

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>118</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>120</sup> *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

<sup>121</sup> *Arch. Md.*, II, 341.

resulted in the formation in 1674 of a separate county, Cecil, from the area of Baltimore County lying to the east of the Susquehanna River.

The curve has been extended to 1674 on the basis of assuming that the combined Cecil and Baltimore County for 1675 would indicate the growth of Baltimore County had it remained undivided and that the 1674 population on this curve would represent the population in 1674 before the eastern part was made into Cecil County. The drop to a population of 765 in 1675<sup>122</sup> reflects this loss.

The only other changes occurring in the boundaries of Baltimore County during the initial period were those in the southern, or Anne Arundel, boundary. Prior to 1698 the line ran two miles south of the Patapsco, but in 1698 it was shifted southward so that it ran essentially along the divide between the Patapsco and Magothy drainage. In 1726 the line was shifted north and followed the Patapsco.

From 1692 to 1699 the population remained stationary. It was during this period, as has been noted before, that the departure of people from the Province was noted in the Assembly. Pennsylvania in particular was mentioned since it was so close and the movement would be especially noticeable in Baltimore County which had a common boundary with Pennsylvania.

From a population of 1,295 in 1692<sup>123</sup> there was a rapid increase to 1,520 in 1700<sup>124</sup> and to 1,740 by the year 1701.<sup>125</sup> This was at a rate of about 200 per year. Three conditions may offer a partial explanation for this sharp increase. First the counter measures adopted by the Assembly to halt the departures may have been effective. These measures consisted of jailing, as disturbers of the peace, any person found guilty of spreading rumors that taxes were to be raised in Maryland or in any way inducing people to leave the province.<sup>126</sup> The second explanation might be a result of the shift southward of the Baltimore-Anne Arundel

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>123</sup> William N. Wilkins, "List of Taxables, Baltimore County, Maryland, 1692, 1694 and 1695," *Ida Charles Foundation*, typed ms, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>124</sup> William N. Wilkins, "Baltimore County Tax Lists 1699-1706, 1737, 1773," *Ida Charles Foundation*. Typed ms, Md. Hist. Soc., p. vi.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>126</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XX, 328.

boundary. Some population increase resulted but the total was undoubtedly small. There does not seem to have been any great effect on the population curve of Anne Arundel County unless the lack of increase shown for the period from 1697 to 1701 might be attributed to this loss balancing the normal increase. The third possibility would be errors in data or their misinterpretation. All the data here in question prior to 1704 are based on taxable lists and as such are subject to some error in conversion. For 1701, which is a contemporary count and considered the first reliable figures for Maryland population, Baltimore County is missing. The figure for 1701 is from a taxable listing and not a contemporary population value. Its conversion factor of 2:1 has been used rather than the normal 2.6:1 because if the latter were used the population of Baltimore in 1701 would have been greater than in 1704 and also would have made Baltimore's population too high in comparison to other counties, especially when compared to its position in 1696, 1697 and 1704. The 1704 figures are a contemporary population count and must be considered more reliable than a taxable based figure.

From 1701 to 1704 the rate of increase was much slower, having dropped to about 60 per year. Baltimore County was no longer at the bottom of the population list, having passed Kent County by some thirty people. The population of the county was now 1,927.<sup>127</sup> During 1704 to 1710 the rate of increase was more rapid, being about 150 per year, giving a population of 2,827 by 1710.<sup>128</sup> Baltimore was now ninth of twelve in population rank. The following two years Baltimore had an increase of only 100 people and dropped down to tenth position with a population in 1712 of 2,923.<sup>129</sup> Settlements were still confined to the shores of the Bay and estuaries.

From 1712 to 1726 the rate of increase was again more rapid, with the population growing at the rate of about 190 per year. If more data were available the curve would show the loss in 1726 of the settlements on the south side of the Patapsco. The 1726 figure of 5,575<sup>130</sup> is based on a taxable listing which includes only areas to the north of the Patapsco so that the 1725 figure,

<sup>127</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 256.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>130</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, 439.

if available, would be higher by about 600 (see discussion on Anne Arundel County).

From 1726 to 1730, the end of the first period, the increase was at the high rate of nearly 460 per year. By 1733 the population was 8,770<sup>181</sup> and Baltimore County had risen to fourth place in population rank. Settlements were now beginning to spread up the estuaries beyond tidewater and had reached the Piedmont via the Patapsco.

**TALBOT COUNTY.** Like Baltimore County, the records for the establishment of Talbot County have not been found, so the exact date of its formation cannot be determined. It was apparently established in either 1661 or 1662. Its erection was in response to the increasing number of settlers moving to the mainland from Kent Island. Prior to the treaty with the Susquehanna Indians in 1652 there was very little settlement other than that on Kent Island. With the treaty providing security against Indian attacks the settlement of the mainland began, though relatively few patents were issued until 1658.<sup>182</sup>

What the boundaries of the county were at the time of its erection is not known. The southern boundary was defined when Dorchester County was erected in 1668 whereby lands to the south of the Choptank were included in Dorchester. On the north the jurisdiction of Talbot County probably did not extend beyond the Chester River though there seems to be question on this point, some records implying that the north side of the Chester River was for a time included in Talbot. To the west the Bay was the boundary with the exception of Kent Island which was not included with Talbot until 1695. In 1706, when Queen Annes County was erected and the boundaries of the Eastern Shore counties defined, Talbot County received its present boundaries. By this action Talbot County lost what is now southern Queen Annes County including Kent Island.

What the population of Talbot was at the time of its formation we do not know, but in 1664, two or three years after its formation, it had a population of 540.<sup>183</sup> It seems that generally a population of 300 to 400 was required before a new county was

<sup>181</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, xii.

<sup>183</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 376.

established so that a similar number may have been present in Talbot at the time. At any rate the early growth was very rapid because from 1664 to 1665 the growth was from 540 to 1,070,<sup>134</sup> an increase of over 500 in one year. Study of available records have not revealed the reason for this rapid increase.

From 1665 to 1667 there was continued growth though not so rapid as before, with an increase of 400 in two years.<sup>135</sup> By 1670 the population had reached 1,860,<sup>136</sup> and 1,885<sup>137</sup> by the following year. Settlement was still limited to the immediate shores of the Bay and estuaries. Apparently the formation of Somerset in 1666 and Dorchester in 1668 had little or no effect on the population curve for Talbot.

From 1671 to 1672 a loss of over 200 people is indicated.<sup>138</sup> If this is not an error in data the explanation may lie in the boundary adjustments between Kent and Talbot which took place in June of 1671.<sup>139</sup> At any rate the loss was more than made up during the following year when the population rose to 2,055, an increase of nearly 400.<sup>140</sup> A slower though still rapid rate of increase continued for two more years to 1675, during which time another increase of nearly 400 took place. The population in 1675 was 2,445<sup>141</sup> which placed Talbot in second position, exceeded only by Calvert County.

From 1675 to 1694 there is a nineteen-year period with no data. The increase during this period was 1,170, a yearly average of about sixty.<sup>142</sup> From 1694 to 1695 there was an increase of over 300.<sup>143</sup> This was probably caused by boundary adjustments with Kent County in 1695 whereby Kent Island was given to Talbot. The areas lost by Talbot at the same time were less heavily settled lands in the northeast.

The data for the year 1696 are conflicting, 3,585<sup>144</sup> and 4,015.<sup>145</sup> The 4,015 figure is listed also for 1697. Both figures are derived from a taxables listing. If 3,585 is used an unexplainable drop in population will result. On the other hand, 4,015 fits into the curve well, *i. e.* it lies on the line connecting the year

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 21.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 481.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 341.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 545.

<sup>139</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

<sup>140</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 578

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 17-21.

1695 with 1701, and as previously noted the 1701 data is considered the first reliable population data for Maryland.

The population in 1701 was 4,862<sup>146</sup> which still kept Talbot in second place, exceeded now by Somerset. The increase from 1695 to 1701 was nearly 1,000, an annual increase of about 160.

From 1701 to 1704<sup>147</sup> a drop of over 600 in population was recorded, with a further, though less marked, drop of 125 from 1704 to 1710.<sup>148</sup> If this drop had occurred in 1706 the explanation would be simple, for in that year Kent Island and the southern part of what is now Queen Annes County was taken from Talbot. Since the data indicate that the drop had occurred by 1704, two years prior, there is some question as to its explanation. The 1704 data is from a letter of Gov. Seymour dated July 3, 1705 and gives a "list of men, women and children and slaves in 1704."<sup>149</sup> The possibility that the data apply to 1706 is rather remote. The petitions which resulted in the Act forming Queen Annes County were presented in 1704, though the Act was not passed until April 18, 1706, so that unless the 1704 data were limited to the proposed bounds in anticipation it cannot be used as an explanation.

From 1710 to 1712 there is only a slight increase of about 70. The population in 1712 was 4,178<sup>150</sup> which placed Talbot in third position, behind Somerset and Anne Arundel. From 1712 to 1733 the rate of growth was more rapid, being nearly 150 per year. The 1733 population was 7,015<sup>151</sup> but Talbot had now dropped to eighth of twelve in population rank, indicating that its growth rate was slower than that of most of the counties. Settlement had by now spread up the Choptank so that the eastern, southern and western peripheries were occupied leaving only the center unsettled.

In general, Talbot's population growth was similar to the state growth. It had a rapid rate up to around 1670 and then a much slower rate of increase for the remainder of the first period to 1733.

**SOMERSET COUNTY.** The first settlements on the lower Eastern Shore were made in what is now Somerset County about the year

<sup>146</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

1660 by Quakers who fled the repressive measures of Virginia's Governor Berkeley. As early as 1651 Lord Baltimore, fearful of boundary disputes, had instructed his representatives in the province to make an effort to attract settlers to the Eastern Shore.<sup>152</sup> Due to the civil wars in England and the control of Maryland by the Puritans, little was actually accomplished. On November 6, 1661, the Governor of Maryland issued a proclamation inviting settlers and appointed three commissioners with authority to grant land in this section.<sup>153</sup> The Quakers settled on the Big Annemessex, and another group, mostly Church of England, settled on the Manokin River.<sup>154</sup> These settlements formed the nucleus for the county.

The first data that we have for the area is for 1662, four years before its official formation in 1664. At that time there were fifty tithables living at Manokin and Annemessex.<sup>155</sup> This would mean a population of about 120 people.

The county was officially established on August 22, 1666. The southern boundary was the southern boundary of the province on the Eastern Shore, though this was not settled until June, 1668. The northern boundary was the Nanticoke River while the eastern and western boundaries were the Atlantic Ocean and the Chesapeake Bay. In 1669 a county by the name of Worcester was established on the Atlantic Coast running north to Cape Henlopen, but apparently it existed in name only.<sup>156</sup> The only other change in Somerset County boundaries occurring during the initial period was in 1684 when the area lying between Marshy Hope Creek and the Nanticoke River was given to Dorchester County. This area had been under Somerset jurisdiction since it had been assumed that the Marshy Hope was the main branch of the Nanticoke River.

The first population data after formation of the county is for the year 1667 when a total of 600<sup>157</sup> was indicated, a growth of nearly 500 in the five year period. Four years later the population had grown to 925, an increase of over 300.<sup>158</sup> Settlements were

<sup>152</sup> *Arch. Md.*, LIII, xxvii.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset On The Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 14.

<sup>155</sup> *Arch. Md.*, III, 452.

<sup>156</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

<sup>157</sup> *Arch. Md.*, V, 21.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 341.

still largely confined to the lower part of the Pocomoke River. There were few if any settlements on the Atlantic nor were there any, as yet, on the Nanticoke.

From 1671 to 1675 we have a growth rate of about 130 per year, resulting in a population of 1,450 in 1675.<sup>159</sup> Up to this point the growth had been at a relatively rapid rate, but from 1675 to 1694 the rate was slower, about 70 per year.<sup>160</sup> This slower increase from the 1670's to the 1690's was characteristic of the state and other counties. The loss of the area lying between Marshy Hope and Nanticoke River did not affect the population of Somerset since extensive settlements had not reached this area as yet.

From 1694 to 1695 there was a marked increase of over 1,000.<sup>161</sup> It is difficult to determine the reason for this sharp rise in population. This was the period when the number of departures from the province was being noted in the Assembly. For the following year there was a drop of about 160,<sup>162</sup> but from 1696 to 1701 there was another rapid increase, 1,800 in five years, or over 300 per year.<sup>163</sup> The possibility that the data may be in error must always be considered though the 1701 data are considered reliable. The settlements had by now begun to spread up the rivers, having reached well above Snow Hill on the Pocomoke and beyond the Marshy Hope on the Nanticoke. The Atlantic Coast was unsettled as was the interior of the county. Somerset was now first in population rank.

From 1701 to 1704 there was a drop in population of over 1,000<sup>164</sup> for which there is no explanation at present. There followed a rapid growth until 1710, when an increase of nearly 2,000 was recorded for the six year period, a growth of over 300 per year. With the 1710 population of 6,314 Somerset remained in first rank.<sup>165</sup> These figures suggest strongly that the 1704 data may be low, though the rapid increase of 1694 to 1701 would still be unexplained even assuming that the 1704 data were low. There was little increase, only 40 persons, from 1710 to 1712.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 51.

<sup>160</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>166</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 259.

From 1712 to 1729 the rate was slower than from 1704 to 1710, though the numerical increase of 170 per year was not low. The 1729 population was 9,395.<sup>167</sup> By 1733 the population of Somerset was 10,475, and the county dropped to third in rank, behind Prince Georges and Anne Arundel.<sup>168</sup> Settlement had now begun to reach the Atlantic Coast and farther up the rivers, though most of the interior was still unoccupied. Uncertainty as to the exact location of the Maryland-Delaware boundary discouraged settlement in the interior near the disputed area.

In general the population curve of Somerset County is very much like that for the state with its early rapid increase which tapered off after the 1670's.

**DORCHESTER COUNTY.** As has been the case with several counties the records for the establishment of Dorchester County have been lost. Mathews believes that it was established in the latter part of 1668.<sup>169</sup> The boundaries were apparently the Chop-tank on the north, the Nanticoke on the south, the Bay on the west, and an undefined boundary with New Sweden (Delaware) on the east. Between the date of the county's erection and 1733 two boundary changes took place. The first was in 1684 when the area lying between Marshy Hope Creek and Nanticoke River was taken from Somerset County and given to Dorchester. The second occurred in 1706 when Queen Annes County was erected. The loss in territory was mostly in what is now Delaware and since this area was unsettled its significance with respect to population numbers was slight.

The settlement of Dorchester County was begun around 1660. Many land patents had been surveyed by 1659 though apparently, due to fear of the Indians, very few had actually settled there by then. Mathews,<sup>170</sup> quoting Jones, seems to indicate that there were 500 inhabitants by 1659, and since in general a new county was formed when 400 to 500 inhabitants were located in an area some distance from a court, a figure of 500 would be more likely to apply to 1669 since Dorchester was formed in 1668 or possibly

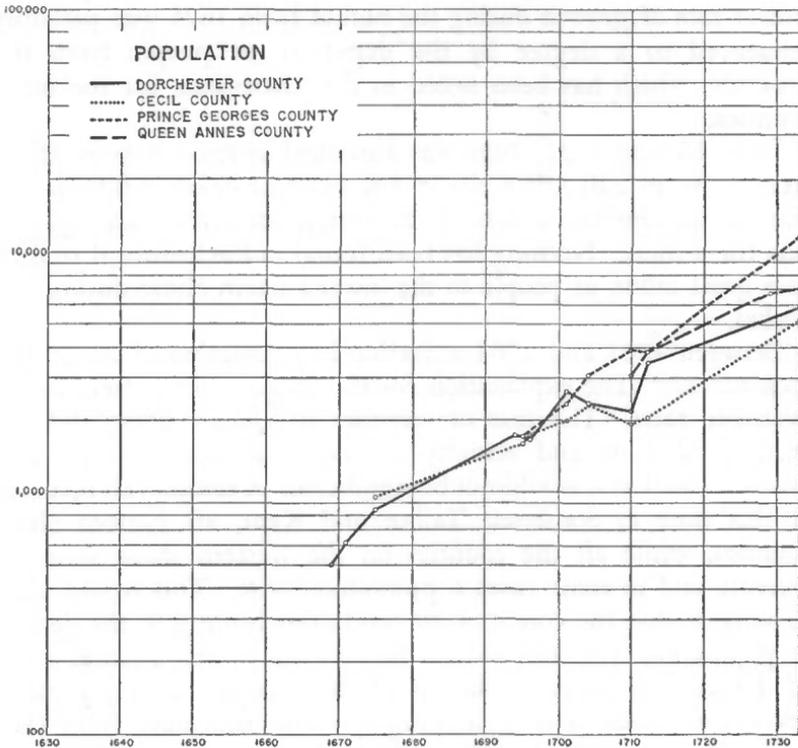
<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 450.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>169</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

<sup>170</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 477, and Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 32.

early in 1669. This assumption is further supported by the data for 1671 which gives a population of 630<sup>171</sup> for Dorchester County. On the basis of the growth pattern of other counties thus far studied, it would seem that if the 500 figure were to apply to 1659 the resulting growth rate would be too low.



If the 1669 figure was 500 there would have been a relatively fast growth rate for the first six years. The population in 1671 was 630 and by 1675, 850.<sup>172</sup> This would give a numerical growth of nearly 60 per year.

From 1675 to 1694 the rate of growth was somewhat slower,

<sup>171</sup> *Arch. Md.*, II, 341.

<sup>172</sup> Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (2 vols., New York, 1930), 1017, quotes a figure of 355 taxables for 1673 while the *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51, gives the same figure for 1675. I am assuming that the Archival figure is correct.

about 45 per year, until by 1694 the population was 1,720.<sup>4</sup> The following two years showed a decline of 85 people.<sup>173</sup> The reason for this decline is not known unless it was caused by the same epidemic that was noted for Charles County in 1696. While it may have been most virulent in Charles it is possible that some losses to the disease may have occurred in Dorchester. The general, slower rate of growth during the period from 1675 was probably influenced to a degree by the departure of people from the province, which has been noted in the discussions for the other counties.

From 1696 to 1701, there was a marked increase in population, from 1,630 to 2,617,<sup>174</sup> a rise in five years of nearly 1,000, which was similar to what occurred in Somerset, nor is there an explanation for it there. Nothing has been found in the historical records of a great influx of people to the lower Eastern Shore during this period.

Between 1701 and 1704 a decline in population of about 300 took place.<sup>175</sup> The explanation for this drop is not present in the available facts. The loss of territory to Queen Annes did not occur until 1706 and actually the area was small in size and unsettled so that it would not be significant. A similar fall occurred at this time in Somerset, Talbot and Kent, all Eastern Shore counties, while all the counties on the western shore show an increase and in some cases a pronounced rise. This would seem to suggest that the condition or conditions leading to the decline in population was confined to the Eastern Shore. Further study of the Eastern Shore conditions during this period may possibly reveal the causes. The decline in population continued from 1704 to 1710 with a further fall of 131, giving a total decline from 1701 to 1710 of over 400.<sup>176</sup>

From a population of 2,181 in 1710 there was an extremely sharp rise of nearly 1,300 during the following two years.<sup>177</sup> There was no adequate explanation for the drop from 1701 to 1710, nor is there one for the sharp reversal of the trend to a marked increase. The suspicion is that some of the figures may be in error. If these were figures converted from taxables, there

<sup>173</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>176</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

would be more basis to question them, but they are contemporary population figures.

From 1712 to the end of the period in 1730 there was an increase at a rate of about 110 per year. The population in 1733 was 5,850<sup>178</sup> which placed Dorchester eleventh in population rank with only Cecil County having a smaller population. By this time settlement had spread up the Choptank and the Nanticoke-Marshy Hope Rivers to about the Maryland-Delaware boundary. The interior of the county was still largely unsettled.

**CECIL COUNTY.** Cecil County was established on June 6, 1674 by a Proclamation of Charles Calvert. From about the time of its first settlement in 1658 to 1674, Cecil County was a part of Baltimore County, Baltimore County having been established in 1659. As mentioned in the Baltimore County discussion the eastern part of the county was settled earlier and soon became sufficiently populated to warrant its establishment into a separate division. The boundaries of Cecil County have had only one modification resulting in loss of population, the shift northward of the Cecil-Kent County boundary on May 1, 1707 to its present position which follows the Sassafras River. The western boundary has remained the Susquehanna and the Bay. It is the northern and eastern boundaries of the Province which were subject to change, but since settlement at this time was limited mostly to the shores of the Bay, these changes had little effect on population numbers. The indefiniteness of the province boundaries actually discouraged settlement near them.

The relatively dense settlement of the part of Baltimore County that became Cecil County is shown by the fact that the population of Cecil was nearly 1,000 within one year after its establishment.<sup>179</sup> Settlements had spread by that time along the Bay and up the major estuaries.

The next data we have is for 1695 when Cecil had a population of 1,605,<sup>180</sup> an increase of only 650 in twenty years or about 30 per year. During the following year there was a rise of about 130.<sup>181</sup> From 1696 to 1701 the rate was again slow, being only about 50 per year. The population in 1701 was 2,004<sup>182</sup> and had

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>179</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XV, 51.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

spread somewhat so that Sassafras Neck, between the Sassafras River and Bohemia River, had settlers over its western two-thirds.

From 1701 to 1704 there was a rapid rise of over a hundred per year and Cecil moved up in population rank to eighth position.<sup>183</sup> From 1704 to 1710 the curve shows a decline from 2,335 in 1704 to 1,950 in 1710.<sup>184</sup> This was due to the loss of the area south of the Sassafras River which was given to Kent County in 1707.

The increase from 1710 to 1733, when a population of 5,360<sup>185</sup> had been reached, was at a rate of about 150 per year, but Cecil dropped to last place in terms of population rank. Settlement had by this time spread over most of the county south of Elk River. To the north of Elk River the interior of the county was still unsettled.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY. In spite of the rather late date of the establishment of Prince Georges, 1695, its southeastern section was settled rather early. Shortly after 1650, when old Charles County was formed, settlements had spread up the Patuxent to about Mataponi Creek. These settlements were under old Charles County jurisdiction until 1654 when the areas on both sides of the Patuxent were erected into Calvert County. In 1658 with the erection of new Charles County all the Patuxent settlements of what is now Prince Georges were included with Charles County. The Patuxent settlements remained with Calvert County until 1695.

The boundary of Prince Georges County on the south was located up the Mattawoman Creek to a point one mile above Mattawoman and from there ran in a straight line to near the head of Swanson's Creek, the east and north boundaries followed the Patuxent River, the west boundary the Potomac. These boundaries were not changed during the initial period.

In 1695, when Prince Georges County was established there were settlements along the Patuxent almost as far as Laurel. On the Potomac there were no settlements around Piscataway because that area was reserved by the Piscataway Indians as a permanent home.<sup>186</sup> There were a few scattered settlements near the mouth of Rock Creek and up the Anacostia to the vicinity of Hyattsville.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>185</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

<sup>186</sup> Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

The first population data that we have for Prince Georges is for the year 1696, one year after its formation. For that year there are two figures, 1,710<sup>187</sup> and 2,025.<sup>128</sup> Since most of the population that made up Prince Georges was concentrated on the Patuxent and under the jurisdiction of Calvert County prior to its being placed under Prince Georges, the loss of population by Calvert would be an approximate indicator of the population of Prince Georges County. On this basis the figure 1,710 would seem more realistic.

For the following year, 1697, the population figure of 1,335 does not seem reasonable.<sup>189</sup> As has been indicated before there is some question about this data. There is the possibility that the epidemic that was supposed to have caused great loss of life in Charles County at this time may have affected Prince Georges County as well.

The next figure, 2,358 for the year 1701,<sup>190</sup> indicates an increase in population of nearly 650 if the 1697 drop is discounted, but if the 1697 data is used the rise from that year to 1701 would be over 1,000, which seems excessive.

From 1701 to 1704 there is a rather rapid rise of nearly 250 per year.<sup>191</sup> The rise continued, though not so rapidly, until 1710 when Prince Georges County had a population of nearly 4,000<sup>192</sup> and was in fifth place.

From 1710 to 1712 a falling off of about 200 people was recorded. *The decline is unexplainable. The only other county similarly suffering at this time was St. Marys which lost about thirty. There was no curtailment of territory.*

From a population of 3,790<sup>193</sup> in 1712 a rapid rise, to 11,772, follows and consequent first rank in population by 1733.<sup>194</sup> The rate of increase of over 380 per year was one of the most rapid for any of the counties for this period. The settlements had by this time reached into what is now Montgomery County along the Patuxent and the Potomac. The interior of the county was still mostly unsettled.

<sup>187</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>188</sup> Bernard C. Steiner, "Some Unpublished Manuscripts from Fulham Palace Relating to Provincial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII (1917), 118.

<sup>189</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXIII, 92.

<sup>192</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 255.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 52.

The growth of Prince Georges County on the whole has been at a more rapid rate than that of the other counties, probably as a result of greater availability of land.

QUEEN ANNES COUNTY. Queen Annes County was the last county formed during this initial period, having been made into a county by the Assembly on April 18, 1706. The boundaries as set up remained unchanged until 1773 when Caroline County was formed from the eastern parts of Queen Annes and Dorchester Counties. The boundaries as constituted in 1706 are the same as at present, with the exception of the above mentioned area east of Tuckahoe Creek.

The county of Queen Annes includes within its present borders the first settlements on the Eastern Shore, namely Kent Island. By 1647 only a handful of settlers had moved to the mainland. Not until a treaty was made in 1652 with the Susquehanna Indians did settlements spread both north and south. The area which is now Queen Annes County was first under Kent County then Talbot until 1706. At this time Queen Annes County was settled on the Bay and up the Chester River beyond Chestertown. The disputed location of the eastern boundary discouraged movement inland.

The first data that we have for Queen Annes County as such is for 1710 when it had a population of 3,067.<sup>195</sup> What the population was in 1706 is impossible to determine since there were such marked changes in boundaries at the time the county was formed. Since it included some of the older settled areas on the Eastern Shore it probably was near 2,000.

From 1710 to 1712 there was an increase of nearly 800.<sup>196</sup> From 1712 to 1729 the rate, while slower, was still nearly 180 per year.<sup>197</sup> From 1729 to 1733 the rate had declined still farther and was only about 75 per year. The population in 1733 was 7,175,<sup>198</sup> which placed it in seventh rank of twelve. Settlement had reached into Queen Annes County up the Choptank and Tuckahoe and settlement up the Chester was nearly to the Maryland-Delaware line. The interior, as in other counties, was still unsettled.

<sup>195</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>197</sup> Levy List, Queen Annes County, 1728-1753, ms, Hall of Records.

<sup>198</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.

TABLE 2  
ESTIMATED COUNTY POPULATION BY DECADES 1640-1730

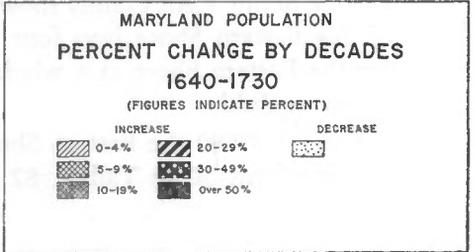
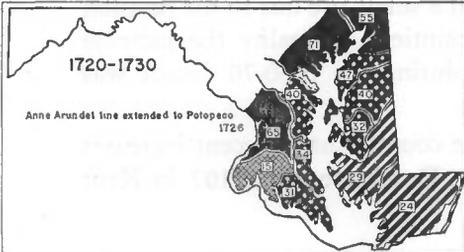
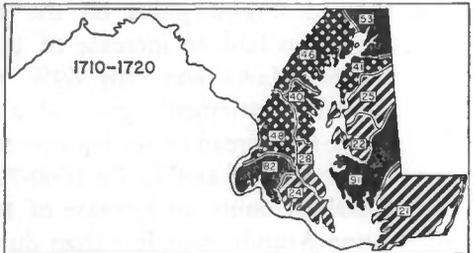
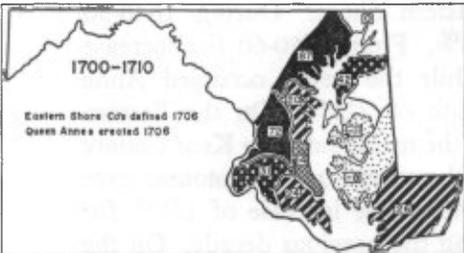
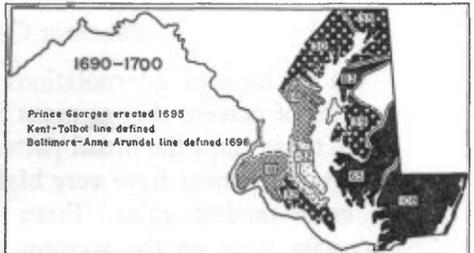
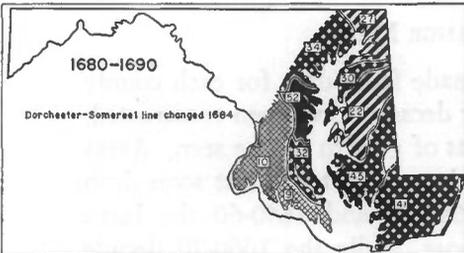
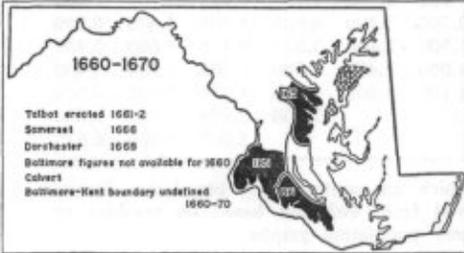
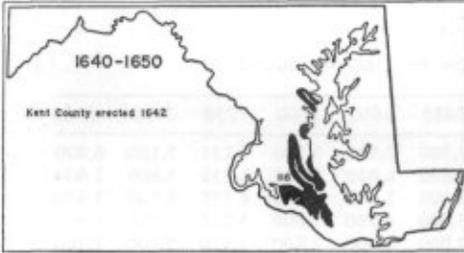
	1640	1650	1660	1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720	1730
St. Mary's	300	650	1,150	2,000	2,300	2,500	3,300	4,121	5,100	6,800
Kent	130	160	365	615	800	1,050	1,900	2,753	3,800	5,600
Anne Arundel		200	630	1,800	2,300	3,400	4,100	4,778	6,700	9,400
Calvert		400	1,800	2,400	3,000	4,100	2,800	3,216	4,200	4,900
Charles			600	1,700	2,000	2,200	2,600	3,429	5,100	7,100
Baltimore			400	1,200	900	1,100	1,700	2,827	4,100	7,000
Talbot				1,860	2,700	3,300	4,800	4,105	5,000	6,500
Somerset				800	1,700	2,400	5,000	6,314	7,600	9,400
Dorchester				550	1,000	1,450	2,500	2,181	4,200	5,400
Cecil					1,100	1,400	1,950	1,956	2,900	4,500
Prince George's							2,300	3,994	5,800	9,600
Queen Anne's								3,067	5,000	6,675

With the exception of the data for 1710, which are contemporary population figures (*Arch. Md.*, XXV, 258), the table is derived from estimates based on taxables or interpolated from the County population graphs.

#### PERCENT CHANGE MAPS

On the basis of interpolations made from data for each county a series of percent change maps by decades have been constructed. From these maps the broad patterns of growth can be seen. Areas of new settlement have very high increases at first but soon drop to more modest gains. From 1640-50 and 1650-60 the large increases were on the western shore, while the 1660-70 decade showed largest gains on the Eastern Shore. During 1640-50 St. Marys had an increase of 116%. From 1650-60 the increase for St. Marys was only 69%, while the newly occupied Anne Arundel settlements grew at a rate of 220%. On the Eastern Shore the spread of settlements to the mainland gave Kent County an increase of 184%. By 1660-70 the spread up the Potomac gave Charles County an increase of 184%. The increase of 165% for Anne Arundel was less than during the previous decade. On the Eastern Shore, Kent County showed a small rise due to the division of the Eastern Shore into four counties. In reality the increase for the Eastern Shore as a whole during the 1660-70 decade was nearly tenfold.

From 1670-80 the Eastern Shore counties had percent increases ranging from 50 in Talbot, 82 in Dorchester, and 102 in Kent



and Worcester. On the western shore the population changes varied from a 35% high in Anne Arundel to a loss of 25% in Baltimore. The decline in Baltimore was due to the formation of Cecil County from its eastern section. In general the older settled counties of St. Marys, Charles, and Calvert showed the effects of lesser immigration due to lack of unoccupied lands. During the following decade, 1680-90, the range of increase was lower still in St. Marys and Charles, being only 8.6 and 10% respectively. On the Eastern Shore the range of increase had also dropped to 45% in Dorchester and 22% in Talbot. The only county showing an increase of over 50% was Anne Arundel with 52%.

From 1690 to 1700 all the Eastern Shore counties had larger percent increases than those on the Western Shore. On the Eastern Shore, Somerset had an increase of 108% largely because of the spread of settlement eastward into what is now Worcester County. On the western shore the 31% decrease for Calvert County was due to the loss of the areas on the west bank of the Patuxent to St. Marys and Charles Countries, which also explains St. Marys' relatively high increase of 32% and Charles' of 18%.

From 1710 to 1720 all counties showed increases of more than 20% and three were in excess of 50%, namely Dorchester, Charles and Cecil, with 91, 82 and 53% respectively. Prince Georges and Baltimore were just under 50% with increases of 49 and 46%. The Western on the whole had a greater percent increase than the Eastern Shore, for this decade.

During the next decade large increases were registered by Baltimore, Prince Georges and Cecil Counties with 71, 65 and 55% respectively. Charles County was lowest with 14.5%. On the Eastern Shore the increases, excluding Cecil, ranged from 47% in Kent to 24% in Somerset.

In general the maps indicate the areas which were gaining population from migration either from one part of the state to another or from outside. On the whole, counties showing increases of over 20% were those which were growing at a rate in excess of the natural increase.

## SIDELIGHTS

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### A MARYLANDER IN THE MEXICAN WAR: SOME LETTERS OF J. J. ARCHER

Edited by C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

Among the interesting collections of the Maryland Historical Society are the letters of James J. Archer of "Rock Run," Harford County, Maryland. James J. Archer was born December 19th, 1817, the eighth child of eleven born to John Archer and his wife Ann Stump.<sup>1</sup> The Archer family, a large and influential one, owned much land in Harford County and contributed, in addition to the well-known Dr. John Archer of "Medical Hall," many leaders in government, commerce, and agriculture.

James J. Archer was educated at Princeton where he graduated in 1835, Bacon College in Georgetown, Ky., and the University of Maryland where he studied law.<sup>2</sup> Admitted to the bar, he practised law in Maryland until after the outbreak of the war with Mexico, May 11, 1846.

Commissioned a captain of Infantry on February 23, 1847, James Archer, with his brother Bob,<sup>3</sup> recruited in different parts of Maryland until May

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<sup>1</sup> For this and all other information on the Archer family not otherwise noted, the editor is indebted to Mr. J. G. D. Paul, the present owner of "Rock Run," who kindly lent the only copy of an unpublished notebook, "An Outline of the Archer Genealogy," kept by George Washington Archer, hereafter referred to as "Archer Genealogy."

<sup>2</sup> *D. A. B.* (New York, 1928), I, 340, gives Princeton and Bacon College in Georgetown, Kentucky, as Archer's alma maters. *The General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746-1906* (Princeton, 1908), lists "James Jay Archer" as a graduate of the class of 1835, and notes that he received an LL.B. at the University of Maryland (p. 147). There is no mention of Jay in the "Archer Genealogy" either as surname or given name.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Harris Archer was born May 20, 1820, the ninth child of John and Ann Archer. He married Ellen Howe Davis on February 23, 1853, and died March 12, 1878. "Archer Genealogy."

Robert H. Archer was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry March 4, 1847, transferred to the Voltigeurs April 9, 1847, and was honorably mustered out August 31, 1848.

In the Civil War, R. H. Archer first enlisted in Captain George H. Gaither's company of Maryland Confederate Cavalry as a private, but was soon appointed lieutenant colonel in the 55th Virginia Infantry. Wounded and captured at Gettysburg, he was imprisoned for a time at Johnson's Island with his older brother, James J. Archer.

("Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army" by Francis B. Heitman, II Vols., Washington, D. C., 1903). I. 168 (hereafter Heitman); Archer Letters, Md. Hist. Soc.

5, 1847, when their command, a portion of the Voltigeurs, assembled at Fort McHenry for embarkation.

After landing at Vera Cruz, the Voltigeurs were assigned to Major General Gideon Johnson Pillow's division and marched under General Winfield Scott towards Mexico City where on August 20 the battles of Contreras and Churubusco were fought. Following some two weeks of armistice, hostilities were renewed September 8 in the American assault against El Molino del Rey, followed on September 13, 1847, by the assault on the castle of Chapultepec. For his gallantry "and meritorious conduct" at Chapultepec, James J. Archer was brevetted major, and also cited by the Legislature of the State of Maryland.<sup>4</sup>

The letters following describe life with the army in Mexico after most of the fighting had ceased, and help to illuminate that most-neglected of all American wars.

Following his discharge in August, 1848, James J. Archer returned to Harford County and took up his civilian pursuits again. In March of 1855, however, he accepted a commission as captain in the newly-formed 9th Infantry Regiment and left with them via Panama and California for Washington Territory on December 14, 1855. The next six years were spent on duty in Washington and Oregon, serving in various capacities and in several different garrisons.

In the spring of 1861, Archer, along with many other men of Southern leanings, resigned his captain's commission in the United States Army, but a strong sense of duty kept him at his post until July when he finally was enabled to turn over his command. Making his way overland by Salt Lake City to St. Louis and thence to Louisville and Nashville, Archer did not arrive in Richmond until late August.

First commissioned a captain in the Provisional Army, Confederate States, his career as an infantry officer in the Army of Northern Virginia was a distinguished one, but is a story of its own. Captured at Gettysburg, and not exchanged until August of 1864, General Archer died in Richmond, October 24th, 1864, of the effects of ill health aggravated by his imprisonment at Johnson's Island.

The collection of letters in the Maryland Historical Society includes twenty in the years before 1855, 115 from Washington Territory in the years 1855 to July 1861, and 87 items from July 12, 1861 to October 16, 1864. In the letters selected here, punctuation and spelling have been untouched. They are printed as in the originals.

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<sup>4</sup> *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII, 201. Robert H. Archer was also thanked by the General Assembly of Maryland for "intrepid and gallant conduct in all the battles of the Valley of Mexico."

Warwick

March 24th 1847

My dear Mother

I heard from home last night for the first time since I left you: you can well imagine how welcome Nannie's <sup>5</sup> letter was—I even stopped in the hope of receiving, at the post office proper I drove up to this delightful place of sojourn, of which I had already experienced the comforts & charms on my way down the shore—But really the plan has some good points—Mrs. Bolten is a very kind accommodating old lady and makes the best coffee I ever drank at any Hotel: I will say nothing about her pretty daughter for fear of exciting your apprehensions that she may keep me from going to Mexico.

The first night after I left you I spent at Chesapeake City; its description I must reserve until I see you again.

I got on to Chestertown Tuesday to Centreville Wednesday where I staid all night but finding it no place for enlisting men I resigned myself to the hospitalities, and tried but without success to enlist some of the ladies.

Henry Wright who wishes to go to Mexico with me as a sergeant accompanied me on my way Millington where he left me Saturday eveng—Millington would have been very dull had I not met there Mr. Dulany of Baltimore and Dr. Power an Irishman who was for some time an engineer on the Charleston & Cincinnati rail road and afterwards chief engineer of the Eastern Shore road; He was intimately acquainted with Alex. Mathison—Power came to see me twice every day and made the time pass quite pleasantly; I spent an evening at home where I was entertained by old Mr. Power (his father) who played all the old Irish melodies.

I arrived at Warwick yesterday and shall go home next Sunday with the intention of remaining until Thursday

Your affectionate

Son

J. J. Archer

P. S. I forgot to mention that my cough left me last Monday apparently with the greatest reluctance at parting from so agreeable a companion; I do not think it would have gone then if it had not completely worn its welcome out.

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<sup>5</sup> Ann Herrman Archer was born Oct. 1, 1822, the tenth child of John and Ann Archer. Nannie, as she was affectionately called by her brother, married Oliver Hough Thomas, and died June 30, 1882: "Archer Genealogy."

[On back of letter]

Warwick Md March 25

Mrs. Ann Archer

United States Hotel

Philadelphia Pa

If Mrs Archer is not at the U. S. Hotel will Mr. West please send this to Jone's City Hotel J. J. A.

Mr. Bridges will please have this letter handed to Mrs. Archer

Jno West

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Baltimore

May 5<sup>th</sup> 1847

Sir

You will immediately on receipt of this break up your Rendezvous at Washington & Alexandria, and bring your recruits and recruiting party to Fort McHenry, with all the clothing you took out with you

Yours & &

J. J. Archer

Capt U. S. Voltigeurs

To

2<sup>n</sup> Lt R. H. Archer  
U. S. Voltigeurs

[On reverse side]

On public service

2<sup>nd</sup> Lt R. H. Archer  
U. S. Voltigeurs  
Washington  
D. C.

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Baltimore

May 5<sup>th</sup> 1847

Dr Bob

Major Barnum has directed me to Break up my Rendezvous in Baltimore and to order all my Lieutenants to close theirs and proceed to Fort McHenry—Allowing that you have recruited 14 I have forty six men: a draft is to be made on the recruiting officers of the old regiments in Philadelphia to make out our complement of eighty men and a vessel has

already been chartered to carry us on wednesday next to Vera Crus where we will meet Col. Andrews <sup>6</sup> and the rest of the regiment.—I would not spend any more private funds in the recruiting service if you have been doing so since you left Port Deposit

The government is now \$150 dollars in my debt according to my accounts and vouchers over and above my pay which I have not yet drawn nor received the blanks for. Please get them for me and send them on immediately—

I am in want of the funds and my accounts will not be returned to me nor the money I have advanced remitted for perhaps a month—But my pay will be furnished as soon as I make the proper requisition

J. J. Archer

DIRECCION  
del  
COLEGIO NACIONAL  
de  
MINERIA.

City of Mexico  
Dec 8<sup>th</sup> 1847

My dear Bob.

The Drs. either deceived us or were very much mistaken with regard to the time of my recovery—this evening makes six weeks that I have been lying here on my back but thank God I shall be entirely well in a couple of days more—

My time has passed as pleasantly as could be expected under the circumstances. My friends have been coming often to see me Col. Bonham <sup>7</sup> Gen Pillow Capt Ridgely,<sup>8</sup> Getty,<sup>9</sup> Hardcastle,<sup>10</sup> Ker, Reno <sup>11</sup> indeed all

<sup>6</sup> Timothy Patrick Andrews, a native of Ireland, was appointed colonel of the Regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen on February 16, 1847, five days after its organization, and served in that capacity until July 20, 1848. Remaining in the army, Col. Andrews served as deputy paymaster general, and was paymaster general at his retirement November 29, 1864. He died March 11, 1868. Heitman, I, 143; 167.

<sup>7</sup> Milledge Luke Bonham of Edgefield District, South Carolina, was born Dec. 25, 1813, attended South Carolina College and practised law when not actively engaged in the army or in politics. He served as a captain of South Carolina volunteers in the Seminole Indian wars, lieutenant colonel, commanding the Twelfth Regiment Infantry during the Mexican War, and as a brigadier general, C. S. A., during the Civil War. He also served as a member of the Confederate Congress and as a wartime governor of South Carolina. He died August 27, 1890. *D. A. B.*, II, 436.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Captain Samuel Chase Ridgely of Maryland. Samuel Chase Ridgely graduated from West Point, served in the artillery, was promoted to captain February 16, 1847, and was brevetted major August 20, 1847, for "gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco." He died July 6, 1859. Randolph Ridgely of Maryland was brevetted captain 9 May, 1846 for gallantry in the earlier battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, Texas, but was acci-

my acquaintances have been very attentive. Gen'l's Pillow & Worth<sup>12</sup> were placed under arrest a short time after you left I don't know on what account. I believe though it is because some of their friends have been writing some foolish letters descriptive of the late battles and awarding all the merit of the victories to them—and Scott believing that they procured the letters to be written intended to have them tried for violation of the regulation which forbids the publication of all accounts of military operations by officers of the army, Capt. Dobbins has been court Marshalled and cashiered.—

Dr. Clark<sup>13</sup> came up yesterday he seemed as glad to get amongst us again as you were to meet them all at home (Indeed my dear fellow I envy you your welcome at Rock Run)

There is some talk of either our's or the Mounted Rifles being sent to Querataro (pronounced Ka-ra-ta-ro) when the Mexican Congress is in session—You have I suppose already heard of the death of Henderson Ridgely he was killed in an attack on the lancers after have given proof of the greatest gallantry in several skirmishes I had looked forward with much pleasure to meeting him here—Winder,<sup>14</sup> Walker<sup>15</sup> and Ridgely the only officers below, whom I knew have been killed—Houghrey who lost his leg at Chapultepec died the next day after you left—This makes

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dentally killed in a fall from his horse in October, 1846. The death of another Maryland Ridgely on November 24, 1847, in action at Pass Gualaxara, Mexico is mentioned in this same letter. Heitman, I, 830.

<sup>9</sup> George Washington Getty, a graduate of West Point, served in the artillery and was brevetted captain for gallantry in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. A regular officer and native of Washington, D. C., Getty chose to remain with the Union and served with much distinction as a brigadier general and major general of volunteers during the Civil War. He retired as a colonel, commanding the 4th Regiment Artillery, October 2, 1883, and died October 1, 1901. Heitman, I, 452.

<sup>10</sup> Edmund La Fayette Hardcastle was born in Denton, Caroline County, Md., 18 October, 1824, and graduated from West Point fifth in the famous class of 1846. Following service in the Mexican War during which he was twice brevetted, he served as captain of engineers working on the Mexican Boundary Commission and later the Lighthouse Board, until his retirement before the Civil War. He settled in Talbot County where he lived out a useful life, dying in 1899. *The Biographical Cyclopaedia of Maryland and D. C.* (Baltimore, 1879). 586, and The Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>11</sup> Jesse Lee Reno, a graduate of the class of 1846 at West Point, was brevetted twice for bravery during the Mexican War, and remained in the Regular Army until appointed a brigadier general of volunteers in 1861. He was killed in action September 14, 1862, at the battle of South Mountain, Md. Heitman, I, 823.

<sup>12</sup> For an account of the life of William Jenkins Worth (1794-1849). See *D. A. B.*, XX, 536-537.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. James L. Clarke of Virginia was the assistant surgeon for the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 307.

<sup>14</sup> Second Lieutenant James Murray Winder, a Marylander, died Sept. 6, 1847 of wounds received in action at the National Bridge, Mexico, on August 19, 1847, while serving in the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 1049.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel Hamilton Walker was born in Maryland and served as a captain and lieutenant colonel of Texan mounted rangers in 1846. He was killed in action at the battle of Huamantla, Mexico, on October 9, 1847. Heitman, I, 997.

my loss at Chapultepec out of 32 men—1 killed—2 mortally wounded since dead—2 severely & 3 slightly wounded

You had scarcely gone before an order came from head quarters [omission] me to take command of my company as soon as able this superseding the orders to recruit—[omitted] is transferred to Capt. Biddle<sup>10</sup> & his Company with some of Capt. Edward's turned over to me. Gardner has got his discharge & Long has his place My Company is decidedly the best regiment. All the officers of the Regt desire to be remembered to you—Give my love to all at home.

Tell John Finley & Oliver Thomas to write to me.

You thought of resigning if you do I hope you will go into business with John Finley—But if your health permits remain in the Regt.—Vernon has left it Longnecker, Smythe, Blake & Woolford will certainly resign with probably others who have never joined the regt. Your chance of promotion is very fair—Walker of Arkansas is appointed in Bowie's place he ranks below all the other Capts.

Bob Forsythe who is writing to you will give all the news that I have not given

Good bye

Yours affectionately

J. J. Archer

P. S. I received a letter from Capt. . . . . . instead of leaving our trunks where I directed he left with Messrs. Palmer & Whitney Ship Chandlers & grocers I am afraid you did not get yours, if you write for it caution him against sending mine.

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Colegio de Minería  
City of Mexico  
Dec. 8th 1847

Dr Brother

Fearing that some of the best letter writers might have mentioned that I was wounded I directed bob to write as soon as he reached New Orleans inform[ing] you exactly how I was—

Bob will be surprised to learn that I have not been able to leave my bed yet When he left I expected to be up in eight or ten days—But my wound although never at all dangerous is not entirely well yet—I shall be quite well however in a couple of days more

I had a good deal of trouble getting Bob's leave of absence owing to the opposition of Col. Andrews who had taken up the notion that no

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<sup>10</sup> Charles John Biddle of Pennsylvania was brevetted major for gallantry at Chapultepec and was honorably discharged in August, 1848. At the outbreak of Civil War, he was colonel of the 13th Pennsylvania, resigning in December, 1861. Heitman, I, 216.

officers of the ten regiments ought to receive a leave of absence on account of any sickness or wounds incurred in the course of the campaign but that if he became disabled for as long a time as three months he ought to resign to make room for another. He had made a rule to approve no application which was not accompanied by a promise to resign on getting home—I told him that all who were going under that condition were going under unpleasant circumstances charges of misconduct, cowardice etc. That Bobs conduct in the march and in the late battles entitled him to go home on leave and he would receive no other that he (Col Andrews) had no right to make any such conditions and that if he did not approve the application I would take an appeal.

When I called on him however for his endorsement of disapproval he much to my surprise endorsed it favorably and after spending an hour or or two with him we parted in the best possible humor with each other—Col Andrews afterwards accepted a leave on the same terms which Bob had refused—How is it Henry that you who are fond of writing and who used to write to me so often as if it was a pleasure to do so, have written but two short letters since I left home.

I am very sorry that you took no steps to secure the nomination for congress which believe you could easily have done. I would have willingly staid at home myself if it would have enabled you to avail yourself of the opportunity which I fear will not again occur . . .

There have been so many erroneous accounts of the part the different regiments took in the battle of Chapultepec and the voltigeurs not having taken any pains to write themselves into notice as many others have done claiming for themselves what they never performed, and leaving out all mention of us that if I do not tell you now, I am afraid I will be persuaded that we were not in the battle at all.

I will therefore give an outline of our share in the business.

On the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> the voltigeurs opened the fight the right wing under Col. Andrews & Major Caldwell<sup>17</sup> entering the wood on the left—and the left wing (of which my company was one) under Col. Johnstone<sup>18</sup> entering the enclosure by a breach in the wall on the right were ordered to deploy as skirmishers, clear the wood of the enemy & halt at the edge of the wood until the storming party came up & we were to let them pass us and assault the castle whilst we remain'd in this position. Keeping up a constant fire upon the castle in front of the breach by which

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<sup>17</sup> Major George A. Caldwell of Kentucky was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his part in this action, and was honorably mustered out August 25, 1848. Heitman, I, 273.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Eccleston Johnston of Virginia had a distinguished career in the United States Army following his graduation from West Point in 1829. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the Voltigeurs from April 9, 1847 to August 28, 1848. Resigning his commission as brigadier general, and quartermaster general, April 22, 1861, his career as one of the ranking officers in the Confederate Army is well known.

In 1845 Johnston had married Lydia McLane of Maryland, and after his death in 1891, he was buried in the McLane plot in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore. *D. A. B.*, X, 144-146; Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

our left wing entered, was a mud fort—In carrying this, which we did by running into it as soon as they commenced firing, and without firing a shot ourselves, I had three men shot down—following through the breach, we entered the wood, and immediately deploying, united with the right wing, which entered by a different way at the same time, drove the enemy out of the wood into the little forts on the side of the hill, and took our position in the east line of trees, which, according to orders, we were not to leave during the fight. In a few minutes after we cleared the wood, the storming party came on, passed through our extended files and advanced half way up the hill and halted confused under the storm of grape and musketry which met them, our regiment then rushed forward, took the lead ~~(and kept it)~~ [scratched out] became itself the storming party, and the Voltigeur flag was the first that waved over the walls of Chapultepec

Capt. Howard<sup>19</sup> was the first over the walls—I carried but 32 men into this engagement of them I lost in Killed & wounded 8

Give my love to mother & all at home

Yours & C

J. J. Archer

[On back page]

If Bob is not at home you can break open his letter before sending it to him.

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Toluca

Mexico March 2nd 1848

Dr Mother

I have just recovered from a severe attack of ear-ache & sore throat, which has Kept me in my room ever since the date of my letter to Bob—during the month of March, nearly every body in Toluca suffers more or less from swelled tonsils—Every officer of the Reg<sup>t</sup> has had a swelled face or sore throat—

Since I have got well I have found Toluca a very pleasant place

I have a very good suite of rooms, which Dr. Clarke occupies with me instead of taking his own quarters at the hospital—We have been living together ever since we left Fort McHenry except during the time that he was left at Perote to be cured of a wound received at En Cerro—Our mess is just the right number, consisting of Lts. Cross<sup>20</sup> & Leigh<sup>21</sup> Dr. Clarke

<sup>19</sup> Captain John Eager Howard of Maryland was the grandson of Colonel John Eager Howard, Revolutionary patriot and Governor of Maryland. He was brevetted major for this action, and was voted the thanks of the Maryland Legislature for "gallant conduct in our recent brilliant and successful struggle with Mexico." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII, 222.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander H. Cross of Washington, D. C., served with Archer in the Voltigeurs. Later Cross served in the 2nd Cavalry. Heitman, I, 341.

<sup>21</sup> John Wickham Leigh of Virginia was brevetted captain for gallantry in several

& myself—My quarters are not exactly equal to those I left at Gen'l Tornel's house with their rich carpets, furniture and pictures—I found these rooms entirely unfurnished with naked brick floors, but I have bought some chairs, had some fine tables made, and covered the floor with mats, so that it is beginning to have quite an *elegant* appearance—I have nothing in the world to do with housekeeping, Sidney makes out his estimates, and receives the money for the expenditures of each month, and gives us much better dinners & at as little cost as any other mess in the regiment—I never have to ask for any thing or give him any directions, but always find everything just as I want it, indeed he does great credit to your bringing up—Swan<sup>22</sup> with some of the good luck he is born to has been invited to live and is now living with a Mexican gentleman, in the most luxurious style—he extended the invitation to me also but his daughters are not pretty and I preferred living as I do—

Do you recollect Col. Manning whom we met at the White Sulphur Springs, who was at College with me, and afterwards married Wade Hampton's daughter—he has been nominated for Governor of South Carolina and is about to put an end to his widowerhood by marrying Dr. Clarke's sister—

Tell Bob that Major Hunter is about to be tried for repeated acts of ungentlemanly & unofficer-like conduct, which if proved will be very apt to break him

Major Burns Pamaster will certainly be dismissed—I have just heard of the resignation of Woolford: the adjutant told me this morning that he has received the acceptance of his & Vernon's resignations—Vernon has been fool enough to make his disgrace more public by sending, to the Louisville journal, a false flimsy letter to vindicate himself

Fitzhugh has not yet received, and I am afraid will not receive the brevet Lieutenancy for which he was recommended he is very anxious to go home and I made application this morning for his discharge

I received the other day letters from Kake and Henry,<sup>23</sup> dated Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>; a mail came in yesterday from Vera Cruz bringing letters for most of the officers—but none of me

I think that were there are so many of you *who have been taught to write* that you might send me a letter at least once a week

Sidney is always very much pleased with any message from home; he seems to remember you very affectionately and asks every time I write to remind you of him

I think there is no possibility of our going home before the fall. Even should the treaty now on foot, be ratified, the army would only go to

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affairs with guerrillas at Paso Ovejas National Bridge and Cerro Gordo, Mexico, and was mustered out August 31, 1848. During the Civil War, Leigh served as a major in the 4th Virginia Artillery, C. S. A. Heitman, I, 627.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Swan of Maryland was a second lieutenant in the Voltigeurs. Heitman, I, 938.

<sup>23</sup> Probably Catherine Cassandra Archer, born Sept. 25, 1810, the fifth child of John and Ann Archer, and Henry Wilson Archer (1813-1887), the sixth child. "Archer Genealogy."

Jalapa, and there wait for the disappearance of the Vomits, before it would venture to Vera Cruz—

I remain as ever

Most affectionately

Yours

J. J. Archer

To

Mrs Ann Archer  
Rock Run

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Toluca, Mexico  
Friday May 5<sup>th</sup> 1848

Dr Bob

I must insist on your writing. I want you to tell me what you are doing, where you are, and how you like the life of an officer in a home garrison—I am anxious too to know particularly of your health—Lt. Frost said you were quite unwell, when he left. I wrote to Henry on the last of last month, the letter will not arrive, however, before this does—you can not therefore expect much news—A duel was fought on Wednesday between Lieutt. Lee and Harley both of the 11<sup>th</sup> Infy.—Harley had given Lee the lie—I was request[ed] by the parties to be present on the occasion as a disinterested spectator

They fought at sundown near Lerma, with Voltigeur rifles at thirty paces—standing with their rifles slanting downwards at an angle of 45 degrees, and firing between the words "fire, one two, three, stop"—neither hit—after the first fire Lee's friend Lt. Jackson<sup>24</sup> of the Lt. Artillery expressed himself satisfied and the parties left the ground without, however, any apology or retraction from Harley, who was very anxious for another shot—This he had no right to ask, having gone out to give, not to receive satisfaction and, when a man says he is satisfied, you can not well insist that he is not satisfied enough, especially when satisfying him any more might injure his health

Both parties came up to Toluca yesterday. Jackson & Lee had been invited to dine with me; when they came Harley who had arrived several hours before them, and who had been all the morning in my room, was asleep on my bed and never waked up until late in the evening after my company had gone. I believe they they spent the day as pleasantly together as if they had been the best friends in the world—My object in going on the ground was to prevent the fight from proceeding any farther than was necessary

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<sup>24</sup> Lt. Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson. For another account of this duel between Daniel Smith Lee of Virginia and Benjamin Franklin Harley of Philadelphia, see Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson* (2 vol.; New York, 1959), I, pp. 139, 140.

Lt. Frost<sup>25</sup> says that you told him you heard that Col. Grahm of the 11<sup>th</sup> just before he was killed cursed his regiment for a pack of d—d cowards—I am sure he made use of no such expressions, the 11<sup>th</sup> I always understood behaved very handsomely on that occasion

It would be as well for you not to forget who you heard say so, if you told him We live very well in Toluca; the markets are always supplied with every Kind of fruit & vegetable, which the tropical or temperate region will produce, apricots, cantilopes, cherries pine apples &c, and for those who are fond of such luxuries they are also supplied with frogs water lizzards and tad-poles from the marshes about Lerma—Smythe still remains in the regiment although no one speaks to him except Frost—his term of suspension is out & he has reported to Capt. Jones<sup>26</sup> (in tempory comand of the regt) for duty, but every body is so much opposed to having him in their company, that Jones will not assign him until Col Johnstone returns from the city—You will be sorry to learn that Lt. Taplin, whom we were introduced to by Charles Finley, has turned out very badly—he got to gambling largely and drinking after he entered the city, and besides borrowing near fifteen hundred dollars from the officers of his regiment has drawn pay five times on his March pay-account—He was obliged to resign before it became generally known, and leave the country to avoid a prosecution from the men who had discounted the pay accounts—he *had been* a great favorite with his regt.

There are said to be many officers of the Volunteer regts. in a similar situation.

I had a very pleasant visit of about twenty days to Mexico, a short time since—Cross and I took a room at the Progreso, where we also boarded Sydney having remaind at Toluca, we could not well live at the quarters assigned us by the Qrm. Cross, when I left, moved into the quarters of his Uncle Maj. Cross which are very handsome and commodious.

Major Polk<sup>27</sup> has taken the house vacated by Gen<sup>l</sup> Pillow, and invites me to live with him whenever I am in the city—I shall certainly accept as soon as I have a chance—Steiner, Hardcastle, Ritchey and all your friends in the city enquired after you

Clarke desires me to send *his love* Van Kleck has gone home; the lady of the five Fs. whom he used to talk so much about, having died one day, Mexico became distasteful to him, and he immediately packed up his and "*vamoused*"—Fry has just come in to tell me that the mail for Vera Cruz, which was to have closed to-night, will remain open until tomorrow night, in order to allow us to receive our letters, which are coming tomorrow

<sup>25</sup> Second Lieutenant James A. Frost of Maryland was transferred to the Voltigeurs at the same time as Archer, was promoted to first lieutenant Dec. 31, 1847, and was honorably mustered out August 25, 1848. Heitman, I, 438.

<sup>26</sup> Captain John Jones, a Georgian, was a cadet at West Point from July, 1832 to February, 1833. He was commissioned a captain of infantry February, 1847, and transferred to the Voltigeurs in April, 1847. Heitman, I, 581.

<sup>27</sup> William Hawkins Polk of Tennessee was a major in the Third Regiment of Dragoons from the 31st of August, 1847 to July 20, 1848, when he was honorably mustered out of service. Heitman, I, 796.

from home, before we finish writing I am confident of receiving a large package of them and shall therefore stop until I hear from you and then go on

May 7<sup>th</sup>

The mail arrived last night bringing one letter from Mary<sup>28</sup> & a package of newspapers from Henry—There is a quorum in both houses of the Mexican Congress and peace stock has risen—Cross came home this morning at about day break he says that every body in the city is sure of an immediate peace

Your affectionate

brother

J. J. Archer

Toluca Mexico

May 27<sup>th</sup> 1848

Dr Bob.

As you will probably come in contact with Smythe I must tell you exactly the position in which he stands—

After his trial was over Marvin gave use a full account of his behaviour on the 11<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> & 13<sup>th</sup> of September it was most conclusive as to his cowardice and to make it more so Smythe had full information that Marvin<sup>29</sup> denounced him as a coward without taking any notice whatever of the charge—Marvin & Blair both declared their belief that he had stolen money from their trunks at the Minería and since then Dr. Bryarly whom you know informed one of our officers that Smythe was sent away from school for stealing money

He has resigned because he could not remain in the regiment, and gone home, his resignation to take effect three months from the time of his application which was some wheres about the first of May—He would be none too good to wear the uniform of the regiment after his resignation takes effect—cut his buttons off if he attempts to do it in Baltimore

I am dear brother

Very affectionately yrs

J. J. Archer

<sup>28</sup> Mary Archer, the third child of John and Ann Archer, was born April 2, 1808, and died unmarried December 19, 1882: "Archer Genealogy."

<sup>29</sup> Edwin C. Marvin was regimental quartermaster of the Voltigeurs at this time. Heitman, I, 694.

Smythe ceases to be an officer of the army on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July

Clark has just come in and desires to be most kindly remembered to you  
[on back]

Lt. R. H. Archer  
U. S. Army

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Toluca, Mexico

May 27<sup>th</sup> 1848

Dear Mother

I expect to be with you again sometime next August—To-days mail brought in the news of the ratification of the treaty of peace, and orders from Gen<sup>l</sup> Butler for our recall to the city of Mexico—It is said also that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Patterson's division had already left Mexico for Vera Cruz, and that Gen<sup>l</sup> Lane will follow to-morrow—Ours is the 3<sup>d</sup> division, and I suppose our stay in the city will be of the shortest

We will remain on the region of Jalapa until sufficient transportation is prepared, and embark from our tents, on the shore (where we will not be detained more than one or two nights) without entering Vera Cruz—by this plan, I think our men will generally escape the vomits—We will most probably be shipped direct to Baton Rouge in Louisiana, where the soldiers, who have enlisted for the period of the war, will be mustered out of the service; and then as soon as my company is discharged I will strike a *bee* line for Old Rock Run, about as poor and as happy as the Scotch soldier in Mammy Jenny's old song—There is however one great damper to our joy at the thought of going home—Lt. Fry,<sup>80</sup> one of the best fellows in the regiment, will die before we start. He was adjutant of the regiment until after the battles of Contreras & Churubusco when he resigned on account of his dislike to Col Andrews—he has been suffering from chills ever since his arrival in the country but would not consent to leave until he had seen some battles—I think he would have applied for leave of absence since our arrival in Toluca but for a letter he received from his mother which mortified him very much—she spoke of the prospect of peace, of course she was glad of it, but sorry on his account since he would thereby lose the opportunity of distinguishing him-

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<sup>80</sup> First Lieutenant Birkett D. Fry of Virginia was a graduate of V. M. I., and had studied at Washington College, Pennsylvania, and the United States Military Academy. He was admitted to the bar in Virginia at the beginning of the war with Mexico, but accepted a commission in the Regular Army as first lieutenant of infantry. For his service with the Voltigeurs the state of Virginia presented him with a sword.

Contrary to Archer's belief, Fry did not die in Mexico. In fact, as a brigadier general, C. S. A., Fry was given command of Archer's brigade at the second battle of Cold Harbor in 1864, having led what was left of that same brigade after Archer's capture at Gettysburg the year before. *D. A. B.*, VII, 46.

self "as Lt. Blakey had done"—no man behaved more handsomely than Fry in all the actions to "think" he said "that my mother should believe that d—d fellow Blakey deserved more of his country than I did and to hold *him* up as an example for me"—He was determined to stay and pray for another fight when he would endeavour to satisfy her

The order to march on Tuesday next has knocked in the head our proposed expedition to the Volcan de Toluca; we shall all be too busy preparing our companies to think of such a thing

Sydney is perfectly delighted at the idea of going home

Continue to write for the nearer I am to home the more anxious I am to hear from you—Instead of directing to *Mexico*, just say "Quartermaster at New Orleans will please forward"

Most affectionately yours

J. J. Archer

I received Nancy's & Henry's letters of the 21 & 22<sup>nd</sup> of April

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

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*Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1933.* By J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. x, 328 pp. \$6.50.

Scholarly preoccupation with the Progressive and New Deal periods has resulted in a skimping of the intervening years—a period far more significant than frothy history focused on flappers and hip flasks would suggest. Politically the Twenties seemed a decade of overwhelming Republican supremacy, yet the wave of the future was Democratic, as events after 1928 proved. Why this was so becomes much clearer through Dr. Huthmacher's careful analysis of Massachusetts politics from 1919 to 1933.

To an unusual degree, Bay State politics revolved around the conflicting aspirations of different elements in the population. In Huthmacher's analysis, the term "old stock" includes not only Protestant native Yankees but Protestant British, Scandinavian, and German immigrants and their descendants. All other elements in the population he calls "Newer Americans." But the "Newer Americans" are, in turn, divided between the Irish and the "New Immigrants," a term used by Huthmacher in a somewhat unusual fashion to include not only South and East Europeans but French-Canadians as well. This usage, though serviceable in that it explains the frequent tensions between the Irish and the other groups, is sometimes misleading. For example, the New Immigrants of the conventional terminology had obvious reason to resent the discriminatory immigration laws of the 1920's, but the French-Canadians were not affected by them. It should also be pointed out that "old stock" and "Newer Americans" as defined in the body of Huthmacher's text do not exactly coincide in meaning with the same terms as used in the statistical analyses of the Appendix.

To quibble over these matters, however, would be unfair because it is usually clear what the author means in a particular context, and the story he has to tell is a highly interesting one.

Before 1920 the Massachusetts alignment was relatively simple: most of the Irish were Democrats; most of the old-stock elements were Republicans. The New Immigrants, though largely Catholic, did not invariably love the Irish. Capitalizing on these jealousies, the Republicans doled out to the New Immigrants just enough scraps of patronage to maintain dominance.

The Progressive movement divided the Republicans temporarily, thus opening the way for the election of the Democrat David I. Walsh to the governorship in 1913 and to the United States Senate in 1918. But this

premature Democratic upsurge was halted by the controversy surrounding Wilson's League of Nations, highly unpopular with most of the Newer Americans. In the election of 1920 the Democrats went down to shattering defeat.

During the early 1920's Republican ascendancy became fatally associated in Newer American minds with such detested developments as prohibition, discriminatory immigration quotas, and Ku Kluxism. Moreover, the Republican claim to be the party of prosperity provoked bitter laughter in a state where the all-important textile and shoe industries were in serious trouble. Walsh, defeated in the Republican landslide of 1924, won back a Senate seat in 1926—definite evidence that the Massachusetts Democrats were regrouping their forces.

The Newer Americans idolized Al Smith, and great was their enthusiasm in 1928 when their hero captured the Democratic Presidential nomination. For the first time since the organization of the Republican party the Massachusetts electoral vote was cast for the Democrats. Four years later the Walsh-Ely organization still remained intensely loyal to Smith despite James M. Curley's effort on Franklin D. Roosevelt's behalf. For a time the bitterness left by the Democratic primary fight raised Republican hopes, but in the end the new economic issues created by the depression united the party, and Roosevelt carried the state.

Despite these great Democratic victories, Republican prospects for the future were by no means hopeless. This rise of able new leaders, the acceptance of a moderately liberal program, and a stronger effort to recruit Newer American support all helped to restore a healthy balance between the two parties.

In emphasizing the influence of the Newer Americans, Huthmacher provides a highly realistic picture of Massachusetts politics. Occasionally, in the reviewer's opinion, he carries his thesis too far, as, for example, in treating prohibition primarily as a program by which the old-stock elements tried to "Americanize" the immigrants. Moreover, over-emphasis on the ethnic element in politics prevents the author from considering the influence of particular personalities. However different in temperament Henry Cabot Lodge, Calvin Coolidge, David I. Walsh, and James M. Curley may have been, each in his own way played the game of politics with extraordinary skill.

Such case studies as this are not justified on the ground that one state provides a sample that is representative of the whole. It would be nearer the truth to say that the politics of each state are unique and that national politics are merely the aggregate of all these local situations. In carefully analyzing this particular part of the whole, Huthmacher has contributed materially to our understanding of general American history.

NELSON M. BLAKE

*Syracuse University*

*Religion and American Democracy.* By ROY F. NICHOLS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. vii, 108 pp. \$2.50.

This slender volume by the professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania contains the Rockwell Lectures which he delivered at the Rice Institute. To the text proper there have been added two and a half pages of notes and four pages of bibliography, but not, unfortunately, an index. The two lectures are entitled "The Democracy of American Religion" (pp. 3-49) and "The Religion of American Democracy" (pp. 50-101). In the first Professor Nichols sketches the emergence of democratic measures in colonial history such as the admittance of representatives of the towns to the general court of Massachusetts Bay Colony after these towns had balked at the theocratic rule of the Boston ministers, and the removal from that colony of groups who departed to establish independent settlements due to their discontent with the religious situation in Massachusetts. This religious self-assertion was also manifested by certain groups who moved to a new location within the same jurisdiction as, for example, that of Abraham Pierson and Robert Treat whose migrant congregation remained within Carteret's East Jersey colony and yet were responsible for the establishment of Newark, New Jersey (p. 23).

Due consideration is given by the author to the Spanish colonies of the southern borderlands in a sympathetic account (pp. 41-47); he apparently did not find enough evidence of democratic action and ideas among the French settlements in and around the Great Lakes, the Illinois Country, and Louisiana to warrant including them. Major stress is laid upon New England with relatively little on Maryland, although Calvert's colony is credited—without explanation—for having made "a notable contribution to the democratic concept of religious freedom, particularly by its Toleration Act of 1649" (pp. 28-29). While there is little that is essentially new in this lecture it is a pleasant and readable account and the only point of fact that the reviewer would question was whether, as Nichols says, all the presidents since Washington have followed his practice of giving thanks to God in their message to Congress for the blessings that have been given to this country (p. 40). Incidentally, Juan de Oñate who accomplished the conquest of New Mexico was a layman, not a priest (p. 44).

According to Professor Nichols, religion has not only molded the institutional forms of American democracy; it has infused the nation's polity to the extent that democracy itself has come "to resemble a religion" (p. 50). With that initial sentence the author gives his reader the clue to the second lecture wherein the second Great Awakening receives major emphasis for its profound and lasting influence in opening wide the path to salvation for all who sought it, a striking departure from the narrow and exclusive Calvinist doctrine that dominated the religious life of so much of early America. In this emphasis the author feels that he is rescuing a neglected aspect of American history since so many have failed to give proper consideration to the "widespread and really tremend-

our experience which influenced and altered the lives of such a multitude" (p. 59).

There can be little doubt of the serious influence of the Arminian Revolution, to use Nichols' term, but to say that the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God was something new is to overlook the fact that this doctrine had been taught by the Catholic Church since the first century A. D. Its emergence in the framework of the second Great Awakening had, indeed, a deep significance for the American political order by way of strengthening the trend toward democracy, but it was scarcely a new doctrine. Professor Nichols has illustrated how these democratic religious beliefs took root in the United States by employing a series of quotations from children's books used widely among the major Protestant denominations (pp. 65-80), a feature that contributes to his work its most original pages. Professor Nichols traces briefly the development of the "moral imperative" that was found underlying these children's books up to and through the Civil War. The war itself is seen as a sort of religious crusade in the minds of many of the participants. And here the author would have found illustrative material for his point in the works of Father Abram Ryan whose war ballads were so widely sung by the Confederates during and after the conflict. The final seven pages (pp. 95-101) are devoted to the period since Appomattox which is too brief a space in which to say anything really significant about a subject of this kind.

The prime weakness of the second lecture, however, in the mind of this reviewer is Nichols' failure to define at the outset the prime function of religion which is to worship God and to help men attain their eternal salvation. True, he was not treating religion as such; but the distinction between real religion and the "moral imperative" working its way into a rather vague national belief with religious connotations should have been made clear. No one will deny that this element has been present in American life, and Professor Nichols handles its principal ingredients satisfactorily enough, although it scarcely warrants the conclusion that it "may well insure American salvation in that it resembles religion" (p. 99). When one speaks of a people's faith, it is pertinent to ask: faith in what? If it be faith in democracy as a form of government, all well and good; and if that belief in democracy has about it certain religious overtones, no harm need necessarily follow. But it is important for both the churches and the state to keep in mind that this is not religion properly so called, nor is there any reason for anticipating that its cultivation will insure the salvation of the nation. In that sense we Americans of the mid-twentieth century could well do with a little more of the genuinely theological-mindedness and religious practice that characterized the colonizers of the seventeenth century.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

*The Catholic University of America*

*Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900.* By ARNOLD SCHRIER.  
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. x, 210 pp.  
\$4.50.

As the author states in his preface much has been written about the Irish immigrant and his contribution to American Society, but relatively little attention has been paid to the effect of the Irish emigrant on Ireland. In this volume Professor Schrier has helped to fill this void in a concise, well documented study.

Professor Schrier sets himself two tasks; one, an analysis of the effect on Ireland of emigration to the United States; and two, the influences which reached back to Ireland from America.

After a brief background analysis of the causes and characteristics of Irish emigration and the factors that directed the tide to America the author undertakes the first of his major tasks. This he breaks down into three chapters. In the first, entitled "The Futile Protest," the reaction of the press and the Irish Catholic Church to emigration is described. All groups were unanimous in agreeing that emigration was unfortunate but when the causes for it were discussed, differing opinion developed. Nationalists felt that the major cause for Ireland's ills lay with the land system and British rule. Anti-nationalists on the other hand felt that the lack of industry was the major cause, and that nationalist agitation served to frighten away investment capital. In the second chapter, "The Visible Result," Schrier analyzes the influences of emigration on Irish economy. This he feels was not an adverse one since it served as a safety valve for population pressure and helped reduce the surplus of labor. It also made possible the consolidation of small uneconomic landholdings and aided the change in agriculture from tillage to pasturage. In the third chapter, "The Invisible Result," the various cultural influences of the emigration are discussed. Outstanding among these was the "American Wake."

In part III Schrier deals with the second of his tasks. In the chapter "Alms and Agitation" the characteristics of the money remittances from America are considered. Of the \$250,000,000, some 40 per cent was in the form of prepaid passage tickets which served to finance over three-fourths of the total emigration from Ireland. The remaining 60 per cent was in the form of small individual amounts which precluded its effective use in solving basic economic problems. Relatively small amounts were sent to nationalist political organizations where, in a few cases, really effective work was done. The second, and final chapter in the study proper, deals with the occasional Irish who returned to the homeland and his role in further helping to familiarize the Irish with America.

Only one minor criticism might be voiced and that is the poor graphics used in the map (f. p. 36) showing Emigration Intensities. On the other hand Professor Schrier is to be commended for his inclusion, in an Appendix, of 19 tables giving quantitative information on various aspects of the Irish Emigration.

ARTHUR E. KARINEN

*Chico College, California*

*The Family Quarrel: A Journey through the Years of the Revolution.*

By ELSWYTH THANE. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959.  
x, 308 pp. \$4.75.

Some of us will still prefer to take our Benson Lossing straight. But there was perhaps no commercial justification for a new edition of his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, and in any case Miss Thane's light, attractive retelling will reach a new and wider audience.

It was 1848 when Benson Lossing set forth with pencils, notebooks, and a "strong, good-natured horse," Charley, to draw his dearborn wagon. His qualifications were a vivid historical curiosity, the energy to implement it, and the talent for drawing which enabled him to record in pictures as well as words. He had, too, a feeling of urgency.

"I knew that the men of old were fast fading away, and that relics associated with their trials and triumphs would soon be covered up forever. I felt shame such as every American ought to feel on seeing the plough levelling the breastworks where our fathers bled, and those edifices containing the council chambers of men who planned the attack, the ambuscade, or the retreat, crumbling into utter ruin."

Miss Thane's style is simpler to read, certainly.

"To collect the pictorial and other materials for this work," Mr. Lossing says, "I travelled more than eight thousand miles and visited every important place made memorable by the events of the war . . . , from New England to Georgia. . . ." Bless his heart, he really did. He drew pictures of everything, he interviewed everybody. If any of his judgments suffer it is from amiability. His book had a serious flaw, and one he recognized—the impossibility of synchronizing chronological and geographical order—but he helped to preserve the American Revolution like a fly in amber, and how much he helped in preserving those crumbling breastworks and edifices, too, nobody knows. We should be grateful to Miss Thane for helping to preserve him.

Miss Thane is a novelist rather than a scholarly historian, and she is inclined to scamp, to oversimplify, and to jump to conclusions after the manner of her kind. (She has her defects' virtues, too.) Marylanders will not like what she does to General Smallwood, nor Virginians her attitude toward Martha Jefferson; I myself cringe at her saying it is impossible to read Washington's writings "without falling a little in love with him." But nothing is very serious; and the average reader, for whom *The Family Quarrel* was surely intended, will not consider even the attractive title oversimplified.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

*The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, 1777-1807.* By RUEL PARDEE TOLMAN. New York: The New York Historical Society, 1958. xxiii, 322 pp. \$12.50.

This publication puts under one cover all known information about Edward Greene Malbone and his work. He with perhaps a half dozen others at the turn of the century and for the quarter of a century before, would pass as first rate anywhere. This they did—not only in provincial America but in the "Great World."

The late Mr. Tolman's *Preface* is clear, direct—all which should be said and no more, no less. Theodore Bolton's *Introduction* is also clear and concise—a good review of American miniature painting by date and by men. Chapter I of the main part of the volume treats of Malbone's *Parentage, Boyhood and Youth* and proves the old American saying "Three generations from shirt sleeves to shirtsleeves." The boy Malbone himself is presented as charming, able, and with no artistic training. Chapter II, *Early Professional Life 1794-1801*, shows that he was not only a man of ability but one of character. The 1794 letter to his father seems "perfect" for its *genre*, when immediately after the father's death the young artist refused to go to England under excellent circumstances as he probably felt the responsibilities of the family.

The artist's short life is treated chronologically: after *Early Professional Life 1794-1801* comes *Middle Years 1801-1804* and Chapter IV treats of *The Final Years 1804-1807*. These present the life of a responsible and attractive young man in business in "Early" America of the 19th century in a most agreeable manner through the well-analyzed study of the very interesting now but probably then very casual *Account Book* kept by the painter from December 1801 to December 1806. From this book (here first reprinted in facsimile) we learn that in addition to family contributions and the necessities of daily life he had also a fine wardrobe, patronized what would now be called a "liquor dealer" (Malbone bought wine, brandy and porter) the theatre and the lottery, and bought "tack" for riding. We also find that shooting was a favorite pastime—he purchased a "Shooting dress," "shooting apparatus" (in 1804 he paid \$6. for "a shooting and fishing party") and lists his guns of varied types; in 1804 also he noted that his gun (silver fitted) was "gold brushed [\$]10." This angle of the artist is "new" *via* the account book.

Of the works by or attributed to Malbone the mathematical estimates and ratios seem unsuitable as well as unnecessary and suppositious. Ample scope is thus offered for future hopeful attributions to Malbone when an unsigned work comes on the market. This is a useful opportunity for those who wish to dispose of an object well. One angle of the large number of recorded works unlocated is not noted: that is that a high percentage of the numerous Southern commissions was lost in the disaster of 1861-65.

Mr. Malbone has been fortunate in biographers—His friend and fellow artist Charles Fraser wrote the contemporary obituary, while a fellow artist Dunlap, with the help of Malbone's surviving sister, gave a fine account in the "History of the Arts of Design . . ."—Now the late Ruel Pardee

Tolman, a lifelong admirer of the man and artist Malbone was, has given a fine study of character and painter with an invaluable study of an expanded list of works made possible by the use of his own extensive files and the *Account Book*.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Charleston, S. C.

*Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America.* By CARL N. DEGLER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. xvi, 484 pp. \$6.00.

As Professor Degler tells us in his preface, this book is an attempt to answer the question: "How did Americans get to be the way they are in the middle of the twentieth century?" As such, it presents what might be considered a series of essays, united by a number of themes, dealing with those facets of American political, economic, social, and intellectual history which are felt to have been of crucial importance in molding the American tradition and the American national character. Thus, although the book spans the time from Jamestown to Eisenhower, it certainly is not just another textbook. In line with the author's objective, he is highly selective in the material he covers. A few of his chapter and sub-chapter titles indicate this scope and selectivity: Capitalism Came in the First Ships; The Awakening of American Nationality; A New King of Revolution; Jacksonian Liberalism; The Peculiar Institution; How Black Was Black Reconstruction; The Industrial Leviathan; Melting Pot or Salad Bowl?; The Lure of the City; The Farmer Comes of Age; The New Woman; The End of Laissez Faire; Was It a New or Old Deal?

The approach does have validity and merit, and certainly everyone who has ever taught American history would welcome the chance to write a volume giving his selection and interpretation of "The Forces That Shaped Modern America." Yet, it is obviously an ambitious undertaking, and therein lay the pitfalls. No one man can possibly be an expert on all phases and periods of American history—and thus little errors creep in. Degler, for example, refers to the Hat Act of "1773," and calls the sub-treasury plan "the Populists' favorite measure."

More important will be the criticism of the author's judgment in his choice of "forces" to be included in his discussion. Degler, for example, says almost nothing about American attitudes toward foreign relations. Surely many will think this a strange omission given the undeniable fact that, at mid-century, international affairs and the ability of our people and our traditions to master them, constitute the greatest test the nation has ever faced. Others will question Degler's complete slighting of the 1920's during which, as Lubell and others have shown, the emergence of the "minority" immigrant groups, with their demands for "recognition" and cultural pluralism, set the stage for much that is important in comprehending the conduct of American politics at the present time.

Finally, many will challenge the particular interpretations Degler adopts

concerning those events and forces which he *does* take up in his account. This reviewer is quite unsatisfied with his handling of the Progressive era, for instance, for reasons that would fill another review. Nor is his evaluation of the New Deal as "The Third American Revolution" altogether convincing. On a broader scale, others (though not this reviewer) will quarrel with his emphasis on the unity and agreement among Americans throughout our history (the "all Americans have been liberals" approach), with its consequent de-emphasis of political and economic conflict among American classes and interest groups.

One might be more satisfied with a book of this type written by a senior Schlesinger, a Dexter Perkins, a Nevins, or a Curti—scholars who have had more time to mull over the forces that shaped modern America, and who have been more exposed to basic source materials (very few of Degler's facts or interpretations are the result of original research on his part). But Degler has essayed the task and, despite the sort of drawbacks cited above, his book is interesting. It should prove particularly useful to students who are at an intermediate stage of study, and to general readers who have not been able to keep up with the flow of recent monographs and interpretative works produced by Boorstin, Louis Hartz, Kenneth Stampp, Woodward, Handlin, Hofstadter, Goldman, *et al.* Through Degler, one can gain an introduction to the thought of these scholars, although *Out Of Our Past* is, of course, no substitute for the reading of these seminal works which went into its making.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

*Georgetown University*

*Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton.* By W. G. BEAN. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1959. viii, 252 pp. \$5.00.

Reading the concluding chapters of *Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton* one is reminded of Thomas Gray and his "short and simple anal of the poor." Sandie died five days before he should have been twenty-four. That poverty which surrounded the infant, widow and mother of Sandie is revealed in the letter of the older woman to a daughter:

"Yesterday and today we dined on herbs. True to my resolution not to open the molasses until your father's return, we have it now in our scantest times."

*Stonewall's Man* is not a military record of the war. Rather it is the story of a young man who forsook graduate study for service on the battlefield and fell mortally wounded in September 1864. It is rich in revealing the ambitions and trials of officers of middle rank and the courageous optimism of the Confederate soldier. It shows changing attitudes towards looting and destruction, first eschewing but later accepting this practice as a "blow in the right direction." Presenting generous excerpts from contemporary letters the author permits us to know something of the difficulties of young lovers in time of war, of the burden of parents and

wives as they anxiously watched "all our pearls" poured out for "the purchase of freedom," and the struggle of neighbors and friends merely to survive.

A few minor errors appear. General Garnett on p. 53 should be General Winder.

In the opinion of this reviewer the author searching widely among private papers has made a signal contribution to the understanding of this period in terms of life at home and at the front.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

*Western Maryland College*

*The Chevy Chase Club: A History, 1885-1957.* By JOHN M. LYNHAM. Chevy Chase, Md., 1958. 127 pp.

This handsome and profusely illustrated history of one of Maryland's more famous clubs traces the evolution of a distinctive social organization from its inception as a hunt club, taking the place of the old Dumblane Hunt in 1892, to its modern role of country club and host to many of America's distinguished men. The course taken by the Chevy Chase Club is not untypical of that taken by many of the hunt clubs in the east and Maryland, in particular, but what is unusual is the munificence of the board of directors to allow such a complete and worth-while volume to be published.

Of the many clubs in Maryland, the South River Club can lay claim to the double distinction of having the longest continual life and a documented history, but equally famous clubs such as the Maryland Club and the Elkridge-Harford have never recorded their own interesting tales.

Any of the clubs in Maryland could take a lesson from this account of the Chevy Chase Club with its maps, anecdotes, lists of members, officers, and directors, and interesting photographs.

C. A. P. H.

*Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-Bellum South Carolina.* By JACK KENNY WILLIAMS. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. 191 pp. \$5.00.

The Palmetto State was one of the last to stop branding murderers and thieves, the public whipping of white men, and the burning of Negroes. Its history in crime and punishment is, as such, certainly not always edifying. The reasons for its recalcitrance, however, are of interest to the social historian and warrant the concise, scholarly, and often humorous study of Dr. Williams.

Investigating the incidents and pattern of lawbreaking in ante-bellum South Carolina, Dr. Williams discards the traditional and too easily accepted causes advanced for crime in the South. Too many tipping

shops, the almost universal habit of carrying a bowie knife or a gun, the over-exuberant celebration of holidays, Court Week, and election campaigns, the combination of hot-blood and hot weather, the influx of wicked foreigners and travelers from other iniquitous states are analyzed and rejected. The real and unromantic reasons for crime, the author contends, were simply the poverty and lack of education of the poor whites, who represented the bulk of the lawbreakers.

The criminal type in this lower social strata defied classification, varying from juvenile delinquents and habitual pickpockets to pugnacious women like Fighting Sall, who would take all comers, male and female, in pitched battle. The types of crime: crimes against the person, against property, and against public morals, are, however, easily catalogued and analyzed by the author. Apprehension of the criminal, as delineated by Dr. Williams, smacks of the techniques of television Westerns with citizen posses, vigilance committees, beleaguered marshalls and sheriffs. Once captured, the criminal still had a good chance of regaining freedom, since the penal code was so outmoded and harsh, juries were reluctant to bring in a verdict of guilty. To remedy the complacency and hesitance of juries, extra-legal punishments were sometimes meted out by club and mob law. More important, there was an eventual effort to effect some reform in the penal code.

This study, Dr. Williams concludes in his final chapter, "The Continuing Theme," should aid in evaluating certain personality traits of South Carolinians, especially their individualism and class consciousness. This basically, *Vogues in Villainy* succeeds in doing. Dr. Williams' extremely well-documented investigation is admittedly of an "isolated facet of the complex social and cultural history of the state." He selected South Carolina for his study "because in many respects the state was typical of the Old South."

DOROTHY M. BROWN

*College of Notre Dame of Maryland*

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### MY LADY'S MANOR

*My Lady's Manor*, a tract of 10,000 acres lying mostly in the 10th district of Baltimore County but overlapping somewhat into Harford County, was given by Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, to his fourth wife, Margaret, "Lady Baltimore, Baroness of Baltimore" on Sept. 10, 1713. She bequeathed it to his Lordship's granddaughter, Charlotte Calvert Brerewood.

Neither Lady Margaret nor Lady Charlotte ever made her home on this lovely manor but leased the land to different tenants. After the Revolution, the manor was seized by the newly formed United States Government who sold it off in smaller farms. From then on the section has remained a distinct community with the name of My Lady's Manor. Lately, because of the fast-growing population and changing times, this charming and historical name is fading into disuse. People are using more and more the name of the postoffice, Monkton.

In order to preserve the name as well as the identity of the community, it was decided by the Manor Improvement Association to sponsor a plan using road markers at the approximate points where roads cross the boundary lines of the original tract.

John H. Pearce, Jr., prepared a map after studying old deeds, maps and spending many hours finding the original markers. These stones bear the initials L. B. G. (Lord Baltimore's Gift). He discovered sixteen markers would be necessary.

The State Roads Commission was most cooperative in sanctioning the map and promising to erect the markers if they passed specifications.

Now at last the job has been completed. The markers are in place. If you live in or near My Lady's Manor, be proud of your heritage and explain to your friends what "Lord Baltimore's Guift" means.

#### *Locations of My Lady's Manor Road Markers*

Corbett Road—1—east of Gunpowder Falls

2—west of " "

Carroll Road—about 1/4 mile north of Corbett Rd.

Old York Road—1—just south of intersection with Manor Rd.

H. Co. 2—about 1/4 mile south of Md. No. 23

Manor Road—just south of intersection with Old York Rd.

H. Co.—Hess Road—1 about 1/4 mile west of Md. No. 146 (Jarrettsville Pike)

H. Co.—Pocock Road—1 about 1/4 mile west of Md. No. 146 (Taylor)

H. Co.—Houck's Mill Rd.—1 about 1/2 miles west of Md. No. 146

H. Co.—Houck Road—1 about 1/3 mile south of Md. No. 23  
 H. Co.—Troyer Road—1 on Troyer Rd. No. 138—near Black Horse on  
 No. 23  
 McComas Rd.—1 about 4/5 of a mile n. w. of Troyer Rd. (Md. No. 138)  
 Wilson Road—1—near Gunpowder Falls  
 Blue Mount Rd.—1 about 1 mile east of Blue Mt.  
 Monkton Rd.—1 about 1/8 mile west of Gunpowder F. (No. 138)  
 Irish Ave.—1—midway between Monkton and Corbett Rds.  
 All face away from My Lady's Manor

JOHN H. SCARFF

Hyde, Md.

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*Bishop John Johns* (1796-1876)—Who has his manuscripts? Who knew his son, The Rev. Arthur S. Johns, of Sudley, West River, Maryland? Are any of his descendants now living? Does anyone have one of his letters? This information is needed for a biography of Bishop Johns, being written by myself.

JOHN SUMMER WOOD, SR.

Rockville, Md.

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*Ford*—Information is requested about the Ford family of Somerset County, Md. circa 1750-1800. Does anyone know anything at all about Charles Ford who had a farm in the Fairmount area, was a ship captain, an Episcopalian, said to be an immigrant from Devonshire, England, supposed to be buried at St. Paul's Episcopal cemetery in Baltimore, and had three children by a second wife: Samuel, b. 1773-4 d. 1847; Elizabeth; Thomas, sea captain—lost at sea. Charles supposedly immigrated with three brothers who settled, one each, in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

*Owens*—Information is also requested about the parents of Peter Owens of Quantico, Md., b. 1816, d. after 1872. He had a brother, Elisha, Sr., and is believed to have had sons, Samuel James, John, Oliver, Alexander, Spartan (who moved to Anne Arundel Co.).

ROLAND W. FORD

Route 5

Salisbury, Md.

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*Richard Blount, S. J.*—Information is desired on Father Richard Blount who was among the outstanding English Jesuits at the time of the planning of the Maryland colony. In 1619, he was vice Provincial and Provincial in 1632 of the English Province. It was to Father Blount that

the first Lord Baltimore applied for American missionaries, and Cecil frequently sought his advice.

CHARLES J. BURTON, S. J.  
Loyola Seminary  
Shrub Oak, N. Y.

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*Timothy Cummins*—I should welcome any information, especially about Deeds, of Timothy Cummins, supposed to have "entered at the Port of Oxford, Md." sometime between 1698 and 1731. At this time he purchased land on "the Court House Square" in Dover, Dela. and died there in 1746 leaving two minor children, Daniel & Hannah. By 1756 both children were adults and married to the children of Humphrey & Sebellah (Elbert) Wells, Jr., of near Church Hill, Queen Anne's Co. All were large Maryland landowners. Also any information concerning Zorobabel Wells & Mary his wife, of the same County, grandfather of Humphrey Wells, Jr.

MRS. C. RAYMOND CUMMINS  
33 So. State St.  
Dover, Dela.

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*Benjamin Hanson*—Can anyone identify and give the names of the parents of Benjamin Hanson, Kent County, Maryland? He was brother of Elizabeth Hanson, father of James Hanson, Martha Hanson (wife of Henry Webster), Emaliene Reed, and Hannah Snow and grandfather of Thomas Hanson James, James Henry Hanson, Sarah Elizabeth Bradshaw, and Harriet Elizabeth Hanson. This information is from will dated 1828.

EDMUND P. H. HARRISON, JR., M. D.  
2903 N. Charles St.  
Baltimore 18, Md.

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*Edmund Howard*—Edmund married in 1681 Margaret Dent. He died in Charles Co. Md. in 1712. I am requesting correspondence with his descendants for genealogical records in lines of the sons William Stephens, Thomas, John, and George of Nehemiah Howard who lived in Worcester Co. Md. before 1761. I am also requesting information on the parentage of Edmund, Stephens, John, Nehemiah and Obediah Howard who lived 1758-1761 in Orange Co., N. C.

MRS. DELIA GIST GARDNER  
101 N. Mt. Vernon  
Prescott, Arizona

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*Halley-Hawley*—We are seeking the address of H. T. Cory who wrote on the Hawley (Halley, etc.) family in the 1939 issues of this Magazine, page 175, and shall appreciate any further information on him and on the family. We are attempting to collect the genealogy of the family, eventually to publish supplement to *The Hawley Record*, E. S. Hawley, (Buffalo, 1890).

CHARLES W. HAWLEY  
65 Woolsley Ave.  
Trumbull, Conn.

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*Spicer's Run*—Those interested in Mr. Marye's article "Some Baltimore City Place Names," printed in the March 1959 issue of this Magazine will find pertinent the following note contributed by him: "A word about John Spicer, who gave his name to Spicer's Run: he was married Nov. 10, 1709 to Juliatha Hawkins, daughter of Augustine Hawkins, of Anne Arundel County, Md. She was born Oct. 29, 1789. I had this information from the late Francis B. Culver. There is something about him in Mrs. Ida Morrison Shirk's *Talbott Book*, (1927), at page 34. On Jan. 23, 1716, he leased of John Talbott fifty acres of a tract of land called "Talbott's Plaines," on which the aforesaid Talbott was then engaged in building a dwelling house for the lessee. This lease is recorded in Liber T. R. No. A, at f. 485, Baltimore County. The situation of the land so leased is not described exactly. The lease was to run for the lifetime of the said Spicer. The dwelling house was to be 20 feet square. Spicer was to have liberty to build a warehouse or store on the property and Talbott was to build him a 40-foot tobacco house. "Talbott's Plaines," 620 acres, was taken up by Edward Talbott, January 10, 1688 (Unpatented Certificate 828, Baltimore County). The land remained unpatented for many years. About 40 years after the date of the survey John Talbott's widow had it resurveyed and patented under the name of "Mary's Plaines" (Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 34). Later still, this land was acquired by Dr. George Walkeer, was resurveyed with other land and some "vacancy," and called "Chatsworth." While the site of Spicer's residence on "Talbott's Plaines" remains unknown, it seems quite possible to me that when that land was resurveyed, it was left out, so that from 1716 on until his death he may have had only one place of abode. "Spicer's Inheritance" adjoins "Chatsworth." Spicer was one of the earliest known settlers of the Mount Royal area. Among his descendants are members of the Dobbin, Penniman and Pennington families, some of whose representatives live in Baltimore."

The following corrections, supplied by Mr. Marye, should be made in the article mentioned above: P. 22, note 26, "1928" should be "1959"; p. 29, fifth line in next to last paragraph, after "Falls" the word "Road" has been omitted; p. 35, note 88, the deed here cited was executed in 1849, not in 1829. Charles Street was extended from Eager Street to "The Boundary" (North Avenue) in 1847. (George W. McCreary, *Baltimore Street Index*, 1900, p. 51.) Its extension necessitated

the destruction of the old Hanson-Rutter graveyard and brought about the removal of the bodies interred therein.

*Editor*

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*Portrait of George Dent*—To complete the gallery of pictures of Speakers of the U. S. House of Representatives, a portrait or engraving of George Dent of Maryland (1760(?) - 1842) who was speaker 1797-1799, is being sought. At the request of the Honorable Louis L. Goldstein, Comptroller of Maryland, a search of the Society's files was made but without success. Mr. Goldstein wishes to transmit such a picture, when found, to Speaker Sam Raeburn. It appears that pictures of all the Speakers of the House have been located except those of Dent and one other.

*Editor*

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

JANE L. PHELPS is Assistant Professor of History at College Misericordia, Dallas, Pennsylvania. She received her Ph. D. degree at Georgetown University and is currently completing a biography of Bonaparte.

ARTHUR E. KARINEN is Assistant Professor of Geography at Chico State College, Chico, California. He received the doctorate in 1958 from the University of Maryland and is continuing his important studies of Maryland population.

WILLIAM B. MARYE, Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, is one of the leading authorities on local history. His contributions to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* have included articles on the seacoast, the pre-settlement period of Western Maryland, Maryland Indians, natural history and place names.

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